

CORPUS
INSCRIPTIONUM ET MONUMENTORUM
RELIGIONIS MITHRIACAE

M. J. VERMASEREN

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ET
MONUMENTORUM
RELIGIONIS MITHRIACAE



MARTINUS NIJHOFF
HAGAE COMITIS
MCMLVI

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Francisco Cumont

qui vita sua exemplum dedit

PREFACE

The publication of this *Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae* is due mainly to the activities of the Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie van Wetenschappen, Kunsten en Schone Letteren (The Royal Flemish Academy of Arts and Sciences) at Brussels, for this work was begun as an entry in a competition organized by their Department of Fine Arts and Literature. It was then awarded a prize by a committee elected by the Academy and consisting of the theologian Prof. J. Coppens, the orientalist Prof. G. Rijckmans and the archaeologist, the late Prof. H. van de Weerd.

Among the first who should be mentioned with respect and gratitude is my teacher Dr. F. J. de Waele, Professor in Archaeology and Ancient History at the Nijmegen University and member of the Royal Flemish Academy. This remarkable teacher inspired a deep interest in the study of Archaeology and of the Mithras cult, and his help has always been invaluable.

I am also greatly indebted to the renowned Belgian scholar Prof. Franz Cumont. He was among the first to recognize the necessity of a revision of his standard work *Textes et Monuments relatifs aux Mystères de Mithra*. During the last few years before his death he showed a lively interest in the present study, supplied much material and often gave advice, devoting a great part of his leisure and his love of Classical Culture to this new publication of the Mithraic Monuments. He pointed the way to much that would otherwise have remained undiscovered, and even read through the first part of the *Corpus* himself, giving fresh inspiration to the work. In writing the second volume of this work his wisdom and enthusiasm was keenly missed.

On the whole this work has been written along the lines laid down by Franz Cumont, although some deviations were unavoidable. Asia, the continent in which Mithraism originated, has been dealt with first; the rest of the *Orbis Terrarum* has been covered province by province; for it was impossible to adhere to a consistent chronological division without marring the clarity of the work as a whole. The inscriptions have not been classified separately, but they appear with the other monuments in the geographical classification; in this way it was easier to give a survey of the propagation of the cult in each country and each place. The places where the cult occurs are shown in a map of each province separately; the doubtful monuments are underlined. The figures in the text and the plates are numbered consecutively.

In dealing with the finds of Mithraea in Dura-Europos and in Rome, where very important paintings have come to light, much greater attention was given to colour; I am convinced that a further and closer study of the symbolism of colour will be very revealing.

New photographic techniques have been of great assistance and it has proved helpful to reproduce as many photographs as possible, since in Cumont's work the drawings have always had the disadvantage of being less clear or sometimes even inaccurate. It would be highly desirable to give reproductions of the paintings in full colour, but unfortunately this was impossible in the present work.

It was necessary to bring into relief the Rome monuments which were dealt with earlier in a separate book ¹⁾. As the doctrine found its definite shape in Rome, and as the Capital also supplies us with the richest evidence of the Mithras cult, its monuments deserve our special attention. We should not forget Franz Cumont's words: "Le Mithraïsme, en un mot, est la forme romaine du mazdéisme".

Thanks are due to all those who introduced the author into the cultural setting of present-day Rome. The Nederlands Philologisch Studiefonds made a first visit to the Eternal City possible. I am indebted to Prof. G. Hoogewerff for the kind hospitality enjoyed in the Netherlands Historical Institute in Rome, while he was its Director. And I also have gratefully to acknowledge the kindness of the present Director, Dr. J. Poelhekke. The late Prof. H. M. R. Leopold, the former Director of the Archaeological Section, and Dr. C. C. van Essen, its present head, should also be thanked for their interest and encouragement.

In the Valle Giulia in Rome, Belgium and Holland are closely connected both by situation and friendship. This has been of exceptional advantage owing to the kind help of the former Director of the Belgian Academy in Rome, Prof. F. de Visscher, and its Secretary, Prof. J. Michaux.

It has been possible to illustrate the description of the monuments of Rome and Ostia with a great number of photographs through the kindness of the Directors and Keepers of the Vatican and Roman Museums, Barone Dr. Bartolomeo Nogara (†) and Dr. F. Magi, Dr. A. M. Colini, Dr. C. Pietrangeli, Prof. G. Lugli, Prof. P. Romanelli, Prof. G. Becatti, Mgr. Prof. J. de Bruyne, Dr. E. Paribeni and Prof. S. Aurigemma.

The circumstances for describing the monuments of Gallia were quite as favourable as for Italy. On account of the present and ever increasing cultural association between France and Holland the French Ministry of Education, Arts and Sciences made it possible for me to continue my studies in Paris for a long period. The interest of Dr. W. E. van Wijk, former Director of the Collège Néerlandais, I remember with gratitude. Thanks are also due to Prof. Ch. Picard, Prof. A. Merlin, Dr. P. Devambez, Dr. J. Charbonneaux and Prof. A. G. Festugière, in Paris, and to Prof. A. Grenier and Prof. A. Bruhl, the former Director and Secretary of the Palazzo Farnese in Rome.

¹⁾ M. J. Vermaseren, *De Mithrasdienst in Rome (The cult of Mithras in Rome)* Nijmegen, 1951.

It so happened that the province of Britannia was visited at a moment when most collections of Antiquities were still being reorganized after the war. I am indebted to all those Keepers of Museums in Britain who, in spite of this, made it possible for me to examine the monuments I wished to see; in particular I express my deepest gratitude to Prof. B. Ashmole for this token of courtesy.

Through the good offices of the British School at Rome, and the American and Swedish Institutes, I was able to consult publications which were otherwise hard to come by. The Bibliotheca Vaticana also gave special facilities.

It was hoped that peace would bring opportunities for a more thorough study of the monuments in Germany and the Balkans, but this hope has not yet been fulfilled. A discussion in Paris with Prof. A. Alföldi revealed that a considerable number of monuments in the Hungarian area might have been rediscovered, and that the known monuments might have been recorded more accurately, had not the uncertain international situation prevented this. The other Roman provinces of the Danube Basin present the same difficulties. In many instances there was too little personal contact with colleagues in this area, and therefore only little progress in collecting the necessary photographic material could be made. Only for the provinces of Dacia, Moesia and Thracia has it been possible to collect more material, owing to the friendship and help of the Rumanian Institute in Rome. Its former Director, Prof. S. Lambrino, and my friends Dr. Dinu Adamesteanu and Prof. D. Marin have shown their interest in scientific research by their considerate and helpful attitude.

Warm thanks are due to Prof. G. van Hoorn for his devoted interest and willing help and for his introduction into the Archaeological Institute of Utrecht University. I am also indebted to Prof. C. W. Vollgraff, Prof. H. Wagenvoort, Prof. J. H. Jongkees (all of Utrecht), Mgr. Prof. K. L. Bellon (Nijmegen), Prof. R. Pettazzoni, Mgr. Prof. N. Turchi (both of Rome), and the late Prof. G. van der Leeuw. Gratitude to my parents and my wife is based on their active co-operation as well as on their loving interest.

It will be understood that the translation of this work, which called for a great deal of intricate and detailed description, caused considerable perplexity, especially because a fixed terminology was lacking so that it was sometimes necessary to coin my own terms. I am therefore greatly indebted to Mr. A. M. H. Lemmers of Nijmegen, who conscientiously assisted me in this difficult task.

January 1956

MAARTEN J. VERMASEREN

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*Monumentorum artis qui
unum vidit nullum vidit,
qui mille vidit unum vidit*

GERHARD

BIBLIOGRAPHY

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| AAcRom | Analele Academici Române. |
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| ACSA | Atti del Convegno Storico Abruzzese-Molisano. |
| Adams, <i>Mithraism</i> | A d a m s, P h y t i a n W. J. Mithraism. London 1915. |
| AEA | Archivo Español de Arqueología. |
| AEMO | Archaeologische-Epigraphische Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich. |
| AeR | Atene e Roma. Bullettino della Società italiana per la diffusione degli studi classici. |
| AErt | Archaeologiai Értesítő. |
| AHGA | Archiv der hessischen Geschichte und Altertumskunde. |
| AJA | American Journal of Archaeology. |
| AJPh | American Journal of Philology. |
| AK | Archaeologiai Közlemények. |
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| AM | Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts (Athenische Abteilung). |
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| AnCluj | Anuarul Institutului de Studii Clasice Cluj. |
| AnDobr | Analele Dobrogei. Revista Sociale culturale Dobrogene. |
| Angelos | Ἀγγελος, Archiv für Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte und Kulturkunde. |

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- AnnVerNassAlt Annalen des Vereins für Nassauische Altertumskunde und Geschichtsforschung. See also MittNassAlt.
- AntC Antiquité Classique.
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- Archaeologia Archaeologia or Miscellaneous Tracts Relating to Antiquity published by the Society of Antiquaries of London.
- ArchKOG Archiv für Kunde österreichischer Geschichtsquellen.
- ArchPort O Archeologo Português, Coleção ilustrada de Materias e Notícias publicada pelo Museu Etnológico.
- ArchStor Patria Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria.
- ArchStorRoma Archivio storico, artistico, archeologico e letterario della città e provincia di Roma.
- ArchTrentino Archivio storico per Trieste, l'Istria e il Trentino.
- ArchZeit Archäologische Zeitung.
- ArhOlt Arhivele Olteniei.
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- ASA Anzeiger für Schweizerische Altertumskunde.
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- BAH Boletín de la (Real) Academia de la Historia.
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- BCMI Buletinul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice.
- BCR Bullettino della Commissione archeologica Comunale di Roma (*cf.* BCM). From 1939: Bullettino della Commissione archeologica del Governatorato di Roma.
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- Ant. Lyon*

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BpR Budapest Régiségei.
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- BSAF Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France.
- BSEtHA Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes des Hautes Alpes.
- BSSS Bulletin de la Société scientifique de Skoplje. See also Glasnik Skop.
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 Bull. GAOran Bulletin de géographie et d'archéologie d'Oran.
 Bull. Hisp. Bulletin Hispanique.
 Bull. Ist. Bullettino dell'Istituto di Corrispondenza archeologica. See also RM.
- Bull. Soc. Niv. Bulletin de la Société nivernaise des lettres, sciences et arts.
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 Caetani Lovatelli C a e t a n i - L o v a t e l l i, E. Due statuette di ministri Mitriaci. *BCR* XX 1892, 226ff.
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 CAH Cambridge Ancient History.
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 Rev ép Revue épigraphique.
 RES Revue des Etudes Sémitiques.
 RevPhil Revue Philologique.
 RGF Römisch- Germanische Forschungen.
 RGKBl Römisch-Germanisch Korrespondenz Blatt.
 RhMus Rheinisches Museum für Philologie.
 RHR Revue de l'Histoire des Religions.
 RI Revue Internationale.
 RIAF Revista pentru istorie, archeologie si filologie.
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 RivFC Rivista di Filologia e d'Istruzione Classica.
 RivIAStA Rivista dell'Istituto d'archeologia e Storia d'Arte.
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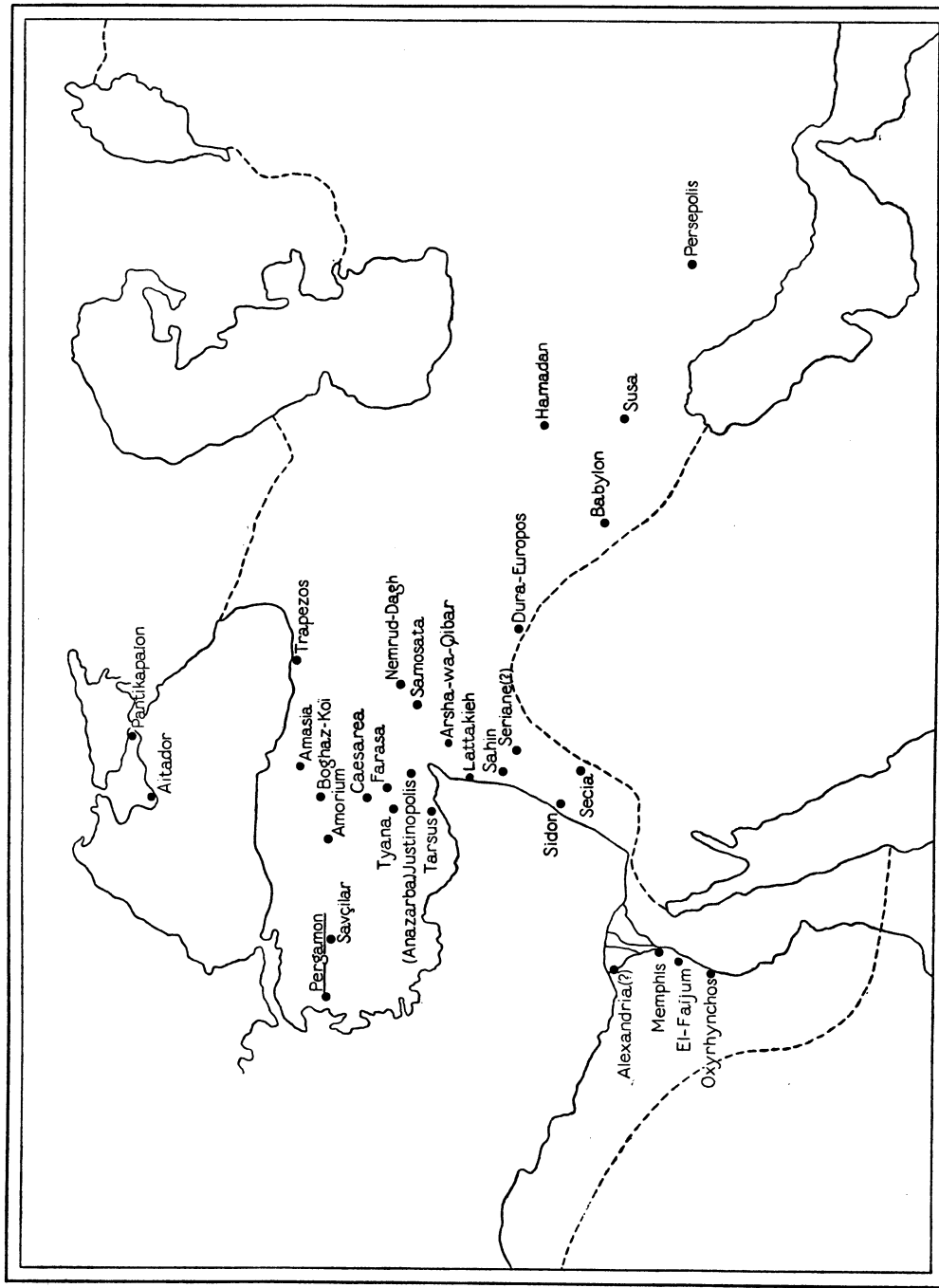
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Wolters, see Friederich
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ASIA-SYRIA



BACTRIA

1

Gold coin.

Gardner, *Coins Bactria*, 131 No. 19 and Pl. XXVI, 10; MMM II 185f No. 1a and fig. 1; Leipoldt, fig. 1. See fig. 1a by kind permission of Mr. R. A. G. Carson.

O b v.: Standing Kanerkes.

R e v.: M I O P O. Mithras with nimbus and radiate crown to the left. Dressed in tunic and mantle. He holds his r.h. stretched out, the left arm akimbo. In front of him a character. Border of dots.

2

Gold coin.

Gardner, 138 No. 20 and Pl. XXVII, 14; MMM II 186 No. 1b and fig. 2; Leipoldt, fig. 3. See fig. 1b.

O b v.: Bust of Hooerkes.

R e v.: M I O P O. Goddess with nimbus and radiate crown standing to the right. She wears a diadem in her hair. She holds a cornucopia with both hands. In front of her a character. Rim of pearls.

3

Gold coin.

Gardner, 141 No. 41 and Pl. XXVII, 24; MMM 186 No. 1c with fig. 3; Leipoldt, fig. 4. See fig. 1c.

O b v.: Bust of Hooerkes.

R e v.: Standing bearded god with a crescent behind his shoulders. Facing him a standing god with nimbus and radiate crown, holding a sceptre in his l.h. and stretching his r.h. out towards the lunar god. Behind the former god MAO, behind the latter MIIPO, between them a character. Rim of pearls.

4

Gold coin.

Gardner, 141 No. 4 and Pl. XXVIII, 1; MMM II 186 No. 1d and fig. 4; Leipoldt, fig. 5.

M O P O. Mithras standing to the left, wearing a tunic and a cuirass(?). In his outstretched r.h. he holds a wreath with ribbons and in his l.h. a staff. In front of him a character. Rim of pearls.

5

Gold coin.

Gardner, 142 No. 49 and Pl. XXVIII, 2; MMM II 186 No. 1e and fig. 5.

O b v.: Bust of Hooerkes.

R e v.: M I I P O. Standing Mithras in short tunic and cuirass(?). Nimbus and radiate crown round his head. In his l.h. a lance, in his r.h. a sword. In front of him a character. Rim of pearls.

6

Gold coin.

Gardner, 142 No. 54 and Pl. XXVIII, 4; MMM II 187 No. 1f and fig. 6.

O b v.: Bust of Hooerkes.

R e v.: M I I P O. Mithras dressed in tunic. Holding a lance with his l.h. and a sword with his r.h. Round his head nimbus and radiate crown. In front of him a character. Rim of pearls.

Thus on the coins of the Scythian kings Kanerkes and Hooerkes reigning in North-West of India from 87–129 A.D., Mithras is represented as a solar deity with nimbus and radiate crown, but also as a war-god with lance and sword. The fact that on one of the coins described a goddess is represented with a *cornucopia* can hardly be explained by assuming, that Mithras was represented here in the shape of a woman (Cumont), but in all probability the personification of fertility (see index *s.v.* Fortuna), of which Mithras is the giver, has been depicted here. It is remarkable that Mithras is also represented together with the lunar deity. Compare for these coins moreover: von Sallet, *Die Nachfolger Alexanders des Grossen in Bactrien und Indien*. Berlin 1879, 202ff; A. Stein, *Zoroastrian Deities on Indo-Scythian Coins (Babylonian and Oriental Record)*. London 1887. For the Mithras-cult with the Scythians: Scheftelowitz in *Acta Orientalia* 1933, 293; M. Gibellino in *Bericht 6. Arch. Kongress*, Berlin 1939, 367ff).

MESOPOTAMIA

SUSA

7

Weissbach-Bang, *Altpers. Keilinschr.*, 44; MMM II 87 No. 1; Scheil, *Mém. Perse*, 95; Lagrange, *Le Judaïsme*, 391.

Thâtiy / Artakhshatrâ / KHSN / vazraka KHS / KHS yânâm..... Imam Apadâna Dârayavaush / apanyâkama / akunash / ab[i]ypara? pâ / Arta(khshatrâ / nyâkama.....Ana)h[i]ta.....Anah[i]ta / ut(â / Mi)thra.....

(Ainsi) parla Artaxerxès, le grand roi, roi des rois..... Cet Apadâna a (été) bâti (par) mon ancêtre Darius..... Arta[xerxes mon grand père.....] [Ana]-hita..... Anahita et Mithra.....

Meant is Artaxerxes Memnon (408–358 B.C.) as well as in the next inscription.

HAMADAN

8

Weissbach-Bang, *Altpers. Keilinschr.*, 46; MMM II 88 No. 2.

Thâtiy / Artakhshatrâ / KHSN / vazraka / KHSN / KHSN(yânâm.....)

Imam / Apadâna / vashn(â Auramazdâhâ / Anah/i/tahyâ / utâ / M/i/trahyâ / akunâ / m)âm Auramazdâ / Anah[i]ta / utâ / M[i]tra / mâ(m / patuv / hacâ / gastâ ut)â / imam / tya / akunâ / mâ

(Ainsi) parla Artaxerxes le grand roi, roi [des rois] J'ai bâti(?) cet Apadâna suivant la volonté [d'Ahuramazda, d'Anahita et de Mithra]. (Qu)' Ahuramazda, Anahita et Mithra me gardent du mal . . . et ce que j'ai bâti, de peur que

PERSEPOLIS

9

Weissbach-Bang, *Altpers. Keilinschr.*, 46; MMM II No. 3.

3. Thâtiy / Artakhshatrâ khshâyathiya / imam / ustashanâm / athâganâm / mâm / upâ / mâm / kartâ.

4. Thâtiy / Artakhshatrâ / khshâyathiya / mâm / Auramazdâ / utâ / M[i]thra / бага / pâtuv / utâ / imâm / DAHyum / utâ / tya / mâm kartâ.

(Ainsi) parla le roi Artaxerxes: Cette construction de pierre(?) a été élevée par moi pour moi.

(Ainsi) parla le roi Artaxerxes: (Qu)' Ahuramazda et le dieu Mithra me protègent (moi) et ce pays et ce qui (a été) fait par moi.

Meant is Artaxerxes Ochus.

CHERSONNESOS TAURICA

AITADOR

10

E. von Stern in *Klio* IX, 1909, 149 n. 3 gives a short notice about the discovery of a Mithraeum at Aitador in the Crimea: „Im Aitador, in dem Besitz S. Kaiserl. Hoheit des Grossfürsten Alexander Michailowicz, sind bei den Ausgrabungen, die der sich für die Archäologie interessierende Grossfürst ausführt, nicht nur die Reste eines römischen Lagers, sondern auch eines Tempels mit Votivgaben und eines Mithräums aufgedeckt worden". This sanctuary of the Persian god is said to have been published by Rostovtzeff in *IJKA* 40, 1911, 1ff; but up to now we have not yet succeeded in consulting this article.

PANTIKAIPAION

11

Tablet of terracotta. Together with the following No. from a grave at Glinitschtsche, Kertsch. Formerly at Leningrad, Ermitage, dep. Kertsch No. 893d; actually Museum Odessa (H. 0.139 Br. 0.105).

Stark, *Mithrassteine Dormagen*, 18 and Pl. III; MMM II 191f No. 5 and fig. 17; Derewitzky, *Odessa* 10f with Pl. V, 1; Saxl, *Mithras*, 13 and fig. 40. See fig. 2.

Mithras dressed in a pair of trousers and a jacket, leaving the stomach and genitals uncovered, keeps a buffalo-like bull under control with one knee, grasping one of its horns with the l.h. In his lifted r.h. he held the knife, which has got lost. On the reverse there is a triangular fire-hole.

12

Terracotta tablet (H. 0.11 Br. 0.095). Since 1878 in the Ermitage at Leningrad, afterwards in Museum at Odessa.

Stephani in *CRCommArchPétersbourg* 1880, 125 and Pl. VI, 6; MMM II 192 No. 5 bis; Derewitzky, *Odessa*, 12 and Pl. V, 3. See fig. 3.

Mithras dressed in the same outfit as on No. 11, kills the buffalo-like bull. He kneels on the back of the animal, grasping its horn with his left and holding out his r.h. to thrust the animal down. Head of the bull has been restored.

Cumont is of the opinion that both works are casts from moulds from Asia Minor.

13

Fragment of a white marble relief (H. 0.08). Exact place where found unknown, "wohl aus Südrussland". Formerly in the Coll. Becker, at present Ant. Mus. Berlin.

Museen zu Berlin, Verzeichnis der antiken Skulpturen, No. 708; MMM II 408f No. 287.

Right upper corner of a relief with the representation of Mithras tauroctone. Only part of the bull, Mithras'l.h. and the dog's head are visible. In front of the bull the upper part of the body of Cautes, who lifts the torch with both hands. Above him Luna's bust.

PONTUS

TRAPEZOS

14

MMM II 55c; Cumont, *Studia Pontica* II 367ff; Chrysanthos, 106f; Cumont, *Mithra en Etrurie*, 100 n. 6; *Mithra As. Min.*, 71 and n. 5.

A text from an eulogy on St. Eugen of Trapezos (1) composed by Constantinus, son of Lucites, tells how the saint, at the time of Diocletian, with two companions, destroyed a Mithras-statue, which stood on the mountain of Boz-Tepe. In the Middle Ages (2) this mountain was still called Μίθριος βουνός and the hagiographer states that on the very spot where the Mithras-altar stood i.e. on the top of the mountain, a church dedicated to St. John the Baptist was built.

Recent studies have revealed, that the place of the sanctuary must have been near the ruins of this church and not on the western slope of the hill, as was previously accepted (3).

(1) Manuscript No. 215 of the Dionisiou monastery on the Athos, published by Papadoulos-Kerameus, *Fontes Historiae Imperii Trapezuntini*. Petersburg 1897, p. 8, 17ff and p. 10, 6ff (cf. MMM I 362f; II 55c).

(2) Still called so in 1336 and 1362 in the Chronica of Trapezos by Panaretos in Tafel, *Eustathii Metropolitae opuscula*. Frankfurt 1832, § 9 p. 362, 40 and § 31 p. 367, 40 quoted by MMM II 55c.

(3) In his former publications Cumont is of the opinion that the spelaeum has to be looked for on that spot. The church of Panhagia Theoskepastos stood here.

AMASIA

15

Marble stele (H. 0.88 Br. 0.50), found at Amasia.

Cumont, *Studia Pontica* III, 132 No. 108.

Above an inscription a tympanum in which a small wheel. L.H. 0.04.

Τ(ιτ)φ Αὐρηλίφ Λουκανῶ / στρατιώτη εὐσεβεῖ / Τρύφενα ἡ μήτηρ μνήμης χάριν.

With the aid of the title εὐσεβής Cumont makes it acceptable that by στρατιώτης not an ordinary soldier was meant, but a soldier in the Mithras-cult (Cf. *miles pius* in CIL XIII 7570d (Wiesbaden) see vol. II).

MITANNI

BOGHAZ-KOI

16

During excavations at Boghaz-Koi in 1907 clay tablets were found on which a treaty concluded between Chatti and Mitanni in the 14th century B.C. was recorded. The gods of the two countries are invoked as guardians of this treaty. With the Mitanni a.o. the following names are found: (Winckler in *MDOG* 35, 1907, 51; Vermaseren, *Mithras Rome*, 1 n. 2 with bibl.)

ilâni mi-it-ra-aš-ši-il ilâni u-ru-w-na-aš-ši-el

Variant: a-ru-na-aš-ši-il.

ilu(!)in-dar ilâni na-ša-a[t-ti-ia-a]n-na

Variant: in-da-ra na-š[a]-at-ti-ia-an-na.

„Also Mithra, Varuna, Indra und eine vierte Gottheit, welche dem Zusammenhang nach zu dieser Gruppe gehören musz(Nasatya: die Zwillinge)“.

Compare the studies of G. Dumézil, *Ouranos-Varuna. Étude de mythologie comparée indo-européenne*, Paris 1934; idem, *Mitra-Varuna. Essai sur deux représentations indo-européennes de la souveraineté*. Paris 1940. See also E. Meyer, *Das erste Auftreten der Arier in der Geschichte* in *Sb. Ak. Berlin* 1908, 14ff.

CAPPADOCIA

CAESAREA

17

Marble column with inscription. At an antiquarian in Athens (Cumont in *BCR* LIX, 1931, 179).

CIL III S. 6774; 12135; MMM II No. 2.

Solem / Soli invicto / Mythrae / pro salute et incolu/mitate / Chresimi Aug (ustorum) / n(ostrorum) dispensatoris / Callimorphus arkar/ius eiusdem / votum solvit / libens animo.

So Callimorphus dedicated an image of Sol to Mithras.

TYANA

18

Inscription from Kilissé-Hissar (Tyana).

Mordtmann in *AM* 1885, 12; MMM II No. 3.

Θεῶ δικαίφ Μίθρα.

FARASHA (ARIARAMNEIA)

19

Near Frasha (Τά Φάρασα), situated near the Zamanti-Sou, on a considerable height a grotto has been hewn out, which can be reached by way a fly of steps. This may have been a Mithraeum. An inscription hewn out in the rock one and a half miles upstream opposite the so-called "Earthen Bridge" is certainly mithraic. Grégoire in *CRAI* 1908, 445 thinks it probable that the inscription dates from the first century of our era (*cf.* Cumont, *M. As. Min.*, 68).

Σαγάριος / Μαγ[αφέ]ρνου / στρατηγός / Ἀριαραμνεί(ας) / ἐμάγευσε Μίθρη.

ἐμάγευσε may mean "celebrated a Mazdaean ceremony". The other explanation "became Magus for Mithras" is not convincing (Nock in *AJPhil.* LXIII, 1942, 349). The last words of the inscription are written in Aramaic.

LYCAONIA

EMIR GHASI(?)

20

A rough-hewn statuette (H. 0.30), found at Emir Ghasi in Lycaonia, is said to be in a Museum at Oxford, where we have not been able to trace it.

Ramsay, *Diary*, 217ff with Pl. XVII and 308ff; MM 229.

Standing Roman soldier in helmet. Dressed in short tunic with *phalerae*. His r.h. rests on a representation which shows resemblance to Mithras' rock-birth. His other hand is laid on a column, on which a lion's head with the characteristics of a Gorgo.

Ramsay is of the opinion that the statuette is genuine and that it represents a soldier with the Mithraic grade of Lion. From all the representations of the lion-grade known to us it is clear that this statement is highly improbable. To us the statuette does not look Mithraic at all. According to Cumont, who saw it at Oxford, it is a modern forgery.

21

The sepulchral inscriptions of Lycaonia on which the titles λέων and ἀετός occur do not mention any Mithraic grades, as Rhode thought. This has been proved by Cumont, *M. As. Min.* 71 n. 3: "Les doutes que j'avais exprimé (MMM II 172 Nos. 549, 550 étaient justifiés. Le λέων et l'ἀετός se rapportent à la construction du tombeau lui-même, comme l'a expliqué W. Ramsay, *Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, 1906, 278 et confirmé L. Robert, *Etudes anatoliennes*, 394".

PHRYGIA

AMORIUM

22

Large limestone stele with an inscription on three sides. The lower part is broken off. Found at Gheumeh (*Amorium*) north of Asizié.

Ramsay in *REG* II, 1889, 18; MMM II No. 4; Laum, *Stiftungen*, 135f No. 175, 176.

- I. [Φ]υλῆς Δίος μύσται ἐτίμησαν / [Κ]ύριλλον Ἀντιπάτρου τοῦ κα[ι / Γ]αίους
 θυγατέρα πρόμοιρον, τὸν / βωμὸν καθοσιώσαντες καὶ εἰς / τὴν θρησκείαν τοῦ
 μνημείου αὐ/τῆς ἀγοράσαντες παρὰ Οὐαλε[ρ]ίου Κ[α]λ/λίστω (sic) ἀμπέλων ἐν
 Λαλ[άν]δῳ, τό/πῳ Κρα[ο]νίστρα, πλέθρον ἐν κ[ἑ]ῆ] μισ[υ], / ἔχαρίσαντο ὅπως
 τὴν ἐξ αὐτῶν πρόσ/[ο]δὸν καταχρῶνται ταῖς κατὰ ἔτος / [ἑ]θίμοις ἡμέραις
 το[ῖς] Μίθρακά/[ν]οις προστα[φ]ιάζ[οντες, δ]ιαμεν[ο/υσ]ῶν τῶν ἀμπέλων τ[οῖς]
 συνεστῶ/[σιν] ἀπὸ ἀρτὶ [μ]ύσταις καὶ τὴν λο[ι]πὴν ἐπιμέλε[ιαν] ποι[ο]υμένοις
 καὶ ἐ[αυτ]οῖς καὶ ἐγ[γόν]ο[ις] καὶ κλ[ηρον/όμοι]ς αὐτῶν εἰς διηνεκείαν [τοῖς /
 ἐ]θελ[ή]σασιν [μ]ηδέν ἐπιβ[ια]ζεσθαι ? / ἐάν δ' ἐπ[ι]τάκις οἱ μύσταις μηκετ[ι /
 θρησκει]ῶσι εἴν[α]ι τ. . . ι (?).λοις / . . . ιο . . περιλι(?) ο(?) .ι.υση /
 οσσ.ο. . .νεζαλ / γι.ησ . . . ιδια / ιδω. . ιο [ἑ]ναντίον / σοιμ. .
 αὐ]τοῦς ὁ Γάιος / . ωσις. ἐν [εἰ]ς ἑαυτο[ν] / . . τε / ος σ
 / γι / δω / ἐνε
- II. [Ἀν]τίπατρος β' Γάιος[ς / ἔδω]κεν ἔχαρίσατο φυ/λῆς Διὸς μύσταις ἀμ[πέ]λων τῶν
 οὐσῶν ἐν Λα/λάνδῳ, τόπῳ Κραονί/στρα, πλέθρα τέσσαρα ἡμι/συ γείτοσι Φιλώτα
 Ἀσκλη/πιάδου καὶ Σακκάλο[υ Ἐ]ρω[μα]ίου κληρόνομοι[ς] / ὅπως τὴν ἐξ αὐτῶν
 [καρ]/πέιαν καταχρᾶσθαι(ν) ἐ[θ]έ/λουσιν οἱ συνερχόμε/νοι καὶ θρησκειῶντες
 [ἡ]/ρῶν Κυρίλλης τῆς θυ[γ]α/τρός αὐτοῦ κατὰ ἔτος / ταῖς ἐθίμοις ἡμέραις / τοῖς
 Μιθρακάνοις· [ἐάν] δέ τις αὐτῶν μὴ συνέλθῃ ἢ μὴ συν[θ]ρησκειῇ αὐτός / ἢ
 κληρονόμοι αὐτοῦ οἱ / συν[μ]ετ[έ]χοντες
- III. ἀμπ[έ]λων τὸ καθόλου διὰ το τ[ε]/τιμῆσθαι τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτ[οῦ] / ὑ]πὸ τῶν
 μυστῶν καὶ ἀγάλατ[ι] / μαρμαρέῳ.

For the feast of the Mithrakana, cf. Strabo, *Geogr.* XI, 14 § 9 p. 530c. προστα[φ]ιάζοντες:
 L. Robert, *Etudes Anatoliennes*, 305 corrects προσ[φ]α[γ]ιάζοντες.

SAVÇILAR

23

Base (H. 0.84). Was in 1926 in the garden of a house at Savçilar. It cannot be stated for certain that it was found at Savçilar, a little village on the North-West bank of Lake Simav (*Synaüs*), on the border between Phrygia and Mysia.

Cumont, *Mithra As. Min.*, 69.

On the front the bust of Mithras with Phrygian cap. The bust is surrounded by an inscription:

Ἡλίω(ι) Μίθρα(ι) Μιδῶν / Σώλωνος / ἀνέθηκεν / εὐχην / ἔτους ρξβ' μην(ός) Π[α(νή-
 μου)].

78/77 A.D.

M Y S I A

PERGAMUM

24

Round altar in white marble (H. 0.21 Diam. 0.65), found "1909 im mittleren Teil des Demeter-Bezirks" at Pergamum.

Hepding in *AM* XXXV, 1910, 453; *Ann. ép.* 1911 No. 43.

L.H. 0.04.

Ἡλίω(ι) / Κλ. Νικομήδης / ὁ δάδουχος.

“Der Stifter könnte identisch sein mit dem Strategen K. Nikomedes auf pergamenischen Münzen der Faustina II und des Commodus”.

PISIDIA

BARIS

25

Stone relief (H. 0.80 Br. 1.00). Was in the house of a Greek at Isparta around the year 1910, was afterwards lost, and has only recently be refound. At present in the collection of the “Maison du Peuple” at Isparta (Halkwi).

MM 229; Saxl, 14 and fig. 38; Cumont, *M. As. Min.*, 70f and Pl. II, 1; *CRAI* 1947, 303ff and fig. 1.

The relief was thought to be a representation of Mithras as a bullkiller; it is, however, a Victoria tauroctone, as Louis Robert kindly informs me (Cf. Nilsson, *Gr. Rel.* II, 643 and Pl. 16, 1, *CRAI* 1948, 401).

LYCIA

KAVAG-DAG

26

Anti in *Mon. Ant.* XXIX, 1923, 692 thought that a temple built at the entrance of a grotto in the Kavag-Dag might have been a Mithras-sanctuary. According to Cumont (*M. As. Min.*, 71 n. 3) “c’est une pure hypothèse”.

CILICIA

TARSUS

27

Bronze medallion (Diam. 0.036). Berlin, Cabinet of coins; British Museum.

Vignoli, 176 with fig.; Welcker in Zoega, 152 No. 43 and 154; de Hammer, *Mithriaca*, 107 No. 82; Lajard, *Intr.* Pl. CII, 13; Mionnet, *Sup.* VII, 282 No. 510; Hill, *Coins Br. Mus.*, 213 No. 258 and Pl. XXXVIII, 4; *MMM* II 189 No. 3 with fig. 12; Head, *Hist. Numm.*, 2^a, 733; DS, *Dict. Ant.*, 1945 fig. 5084; Frothingham in *AJA* 1918, 63ff; MM 28 fig. 1; Leipoldt, VI and Pl. 14; Saxl, 13; Nilsson, *Gr. Rel.* II, Pl. 16, 2. See fig. 4.

O b v.: Bust of Gordian (238–244 A.D.). He is dressed in a *paludamentum* and wears radiate crown. Rim of pearls.

L e g.: Αὐτ(οκράτωρ) Κ(αῖσαρ) Μ. Ἀντῶνιος Γορδιανὸς Σεβ(αστὸς) π(ατήρ) π(ατρίδος).

R e v.: Mithras in radiate crown, lifts dagger with his r.h. in order to kill the bull. With the other hand he grasps the animal's nostrils. Mithras' breast is covered by a cuirass, below which is a short tunic, he also has the flying cloak and *anaxyrides*. Rim of pearls.

L e g.: Τάρσου μητροπόλεως. Α(ὐτονόμου) μ(ητροπόλεως) Κ(ιλικίας) γ(ράμματι) β(ουλῆς).

JUSTINOPOLIS

27bis

During the Congress of Ancient Anatolian Studies in Istanbul 1952 M. Gough lectured about "a new Mithraic inscription from Anazarba". The monument has not yet been published.

S Y R I A

NEMRUD-DAGH

28

King Antiochus I of Commagene (69–34 B.C.) had a sepulchral monument erected on the terrace of Nemrud-Dagh during his life. On the east part of the terrace the king had five colossal statues of about 8 M high erected between a lion and an eagle. The gods are represented in a sitting posture on a throne and are: Apollo-Mithras (see below); Tyche-Commagene; Zeus-Ahura-Mazda; Antiochus himself and finally Ares-Artagnes.

On the backs of the five thrones an inscription has been engraved (No. 32).

On the western part of the terrace, again between a lion and an eagle, there are five representations of the same deities, though here rendered in relief. They are represented either enthroned or standing, holding out their hands to Antiochus.

First of all Tyche-Commagene, handing gifts to the king; then Apollo-Mithras-Helios (see below); in the middle Zeus-Ahura-Mazda enthrones and then Ares-Artagnes-Heracles.

The fifth relief depicts the king's horoscope (see below).

29

Head of the Mithras-statue.

Humann-Puchstein, *Reisen*, 295 and Pl. XXXI, 1; MMM II 187 No. 2 and fig. 9; Goell in *ILN* 1955, 1094 ff gives a report about new excavations.

Head of beardless Mithras in Phrygian cap, point of which is missing. Round the hem of the cap a diadem, ornated with thunderbolts. Two hanging ribbons cover his ears.

30

Relief (H. 2.30 Br. 1.50 D. 0.42).

Humann-Puchstein, *Reisen*, 321ff and Pl. XXVIII, 2; MMM II *l.c.* with fig. 10; MM, Pl. I, 5; Cumont, *Rel. Or.*, 133 fig. 9; RRR I, 195, 2; DS, *Dict. Ant.*, fig. 5083; Gressmann, *Or. Rel.*, 143 fig. 53; Sarre, *Kunst Pers.*, fig. 56; Saxl, fig. 5; Leipoldt, fig. 6 (see fig. 5).

Antiochus, in richly decorated attire with a tiara on his head, holds out his r.h. to Mithras. He carries a short dagger at his side and holds a sceptre in his l.h. Mithras wears a similar attire with only this difference, that he wears a Phrygian cap with two hanging ribbons, covering his ears. Around the head a nimbus and a crown with 21 rays. The attire consists of a cuirass and a cloak,

fastened in front with a round fibula. Beneath the cuirass a long tunica, which is held up between the legs with straps or strings to facilitate walking. Around the neck a necklace. Mithras extends his r.h. to Antiochus and has a bundle of twigs (*baresman*) in his left. Their feet are shod.

3¹

Relief.

Humann-Puchstein, *Reisen*, 329ff with Pl. XL; Bey-Effendi, 21f and Pl. 24; RRR I, 196; MMM II *l.c.* fig. 8; Gressmann, *Or. Rel.*, 147 fig. 55; *Hell. Gestirnrel.*, 22f and fig. 8; Cook, *Zeus* I, 749 fig. 547; Hunger-Lamer, *Altort. Kult.*, fig. 193; Sarre, *Kunst Pers.*, fig. 55; Turchi, *RRA*, Pl. XXII, 2. See fig. 6.

Horoscope of Antiochus of Commagene (July 17, 98 B.C.). Standing lion to the right with a crescent below his neck and a number of stars on his body and in the field. Above his back three large planets, the names of which are mentioned: Πυρρείς Ἡρακλέους, Στίλβων Ἀπόλλωνος, Φαέθων Διός). (Cf. Fr. Cumont, *Les noms des planètes et l'astrolatrie chez les Grecs*, in *Ant C.* IV, 1935, 16 n. 8).

3²

Inscription carved on the pairs of columns on the backs of the five thrones, which stand on the west and east part of the terrace.

Hamdey-Bey, *N.D.*, Iff and Pls I–IV; Puchstein in *SbPreussAk* I, 1883, 29ff; Humann-Puchstein, *Reisen*, 262ff; Beurlier, *Div. hon.*, 133ff and 111ff; MMM II No. 1; Norden, *Ant. Kunstprosa* I, 141ff; Michel, *RIG* 735; Dittenberger, *OGIS* 383; Cagnat, *IGRR* III, 999; Laum, *Stiftungen* II, 148ff; Brinkmann in *RhMus* LXIX, 1914, 585; Waldis, *Sprache N.D.*, 3ff; Jalabert-Mouterde I, 12 No. 1; Krüger, *Orient u. Hellas*, 18ff; cf. Kornemann in *Klio* I, 1901, 51ff. Our text is taken from Jalabert and Mouterde, who have commented the inscription excellently well.

After an introduction, in which Antiochus explains his descent and which testifies his religious conviction, the charter proceeds as follows:

IB.

24. Ἐγὼ πατρώϊαν [ἀ]ρχὴν [π]αρ[αλ]α[β]ών/
 βασιλείαν [μ]έν ἐμο[ῦ]ς ὑπήκοον θρό[ν]οις
 κοινὴν θεῶν ἀπάντων εὐσεβείᾳ / γνώμης
 ἐμῆς δίκαιαν ἀπέδειξα μορ[φῆ]ς μεν
 (ε)ὶκόνας παντοίᾳ τέχνῃ καθ' ἃ παλαιὸς
 30. λόγος Περσῶν τε καὶ / Ἑλλήνων — ἐμοῦ
 γένους εὐτυχες/τάτῃ ῥίζα — παραδέδωκε
 κόσμησας / θυσίαις τε καὶ πανηγύρεσιν
 ὥς ἀρ/χαῖός τε νόμος καὶ κοινὸν ἀνθρώπων

- ἔθους· ἔτι δὲ ἐμὴ δικαία φροντίς / προσεξεῦρε
 35. τιμάς ἐπιφανῶς γερα/ράς. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἱεροθεσίου
 τοῦδε κρη/πεῖδα ἀπόρθητον χρόνου λύμαις /
 οὐρανίων ἄγχιστα θρόνων κατασ/τήσασθαι
 προενοήθην ἐν ᾧ μα/καριστον ἄχρι [γ]ήρως
 40. ὑπάρξαν σῶμα / μορφῆς ἐμῆς πρὸς οὐρανίους
 Διὸς / Ὡρομάσδου θρόνους θεοφιλῇ ψυχῇ /
 IIΑ. προπέμψαν εἰς τὸν ἄπειρον αἰῶνα κοι/μήσεται.
 45. Τότε δὴ καὶ τόνδε χῶρον / ἱερὸν ἀπάντων κοινὸν
 ἀναδεῖξαι / θεῶν ἐνθρόνισμα προειλάμην ὅπως /
 μὴ μόνον ἐμῶν προγόνων οὗτος ὢν ὄρᾳς /
 ἡρῶ(ο)ς λόχος ἐμαῖς ἐπιμελείαις ὑπάρ/χη
 50. καθιδρυμένος ἀλλὰ καὶ / δαιμόνων ἐπιφανῶν
 θεῖος τύπος ἐν / ἀγίῳ λόφῳ καθοσιωθεὶς
 μηδὲ τόν/δε τὸν τόπον ὀρφανὸν ἐ/μῆς
 εὐσεβείας ἔχη μ[ά]ρτυρα.
 Διόπερ / ὡς ὄρᾳς Διὸς τε Ὡρομάσδου καὶ
 55. Ἀπόλ/λωνος Μίθρου Ἡλίου Ἑρμοῦ καὶ Ἀρτά/γνου
 Ἡρακλέους Ἄρεως ἐμῆς τε πα/τρίδος
 παντρόφου Κομμαγηνῆς θεοπρε/πῇ ταῦτα
 ἀγάλματα καθιδρυσάμην. /
 60. Ἀπὸ τε λιθείας μιᾶς δαίμοσιν
 ἐπηκόοις / σύνθρονον χαρακτῆρα μορφῆς
 ἐμῆς / συνανέθηκα καὶ Τύχης νέας ἡλικιω/τιν
 ἀρχαίαν θεῶν μεγάλων τιμὴν ἐποι/ησάμην
 IIΒ. μίμημα δίκαιον φυλάσ/σων ἀθανάτου
 65. φροντίδος ἧ πολλά/κις ἐμοὶ παραστάτις
 ἐπιφανῆς εἰς βοή/θειαν ἀγώνων βασιλικῶν
 εὐμενῆς / ἑωρᾶτο.
 Χώραν τε ἱκανὴν καὶ προ/σόδους ἐξ αὐτῆς
 ἀκινήτους εἰς θυσι/ῶν πολυτέλειαν ἀπένειμα /
 70. θεραπείαν τε ἀνέγλειπτον καὶ / ἱερεῖς ἐπιλέξας
 σὺν πρεπούσαις / ἐσθήσι Περσικῶι γένει κατέστησα /
 κόσμον τε καὶ λειτουργίαν πᾶσαν ἀξίως τύχης
 ἐμῆς καὶ δαιμόνων / ὑπεροχῆς ἀνέθηκα. Περὶ
 75. δὲ ἱερουρ/γιῶν αἰδίῳ διατάξιν πρέπουσαν /
 ἐποιησάμην ὅπως σὺν αἷς ἀρχαῖος / καὶ
 κοινὸς νόμος ἔταξεν / θυσίαις καὶ νέας ἑορτάς
 80. εἷς τε / θεῶν σεβασμὸν καὶ ἡμετέρας τι/μὰς
 ἀπαντες οἱ κατ' ἐμὴν βασιλείαν / ἐπιτελῶσιν.

On his birthday, the sixteenth of the month of Audnaios, and on the anniversary of his accession, the tenth of the month of Loos, these new festivities have to be celebrated. To this purpose he has divided the population of the state into a certain number of districts. The inhabitants will assemble for the ceremonies in the nearest sanctuary.

Moreover he orders that the priests have to sacrifice on the 16th and 10th of every month. This last will he had carved into the columns and let nobody dare to reach for it with sacrilegious hands!

III A. "Ὁν θέμις ἀνθρώπων / γενεαῖς ἀπάντων οὗς ἂν χρόνος /

ἄπειρος εἰς διαδοχὴν / χώρας ταύτης ἰδίαί βίου

115. μοίραι καταστή/ση τηρεῖν ἄσυχον εἰδότας ὡς χαλεπή

νέ/μεσις βασιλικῶν δαιμόνων τιμωρὸς ὁμοί/ως

ἀμελίας τε καὶ ὕβρεως ἀσέβειαν διώκει / καθωσιωμένων

III B. τε ἡρώων ἀτιμασθεὶς νόμος / ἀνελιάτους ἔχει ποινάς.

120. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὅσιον ἅπαν / κοῦφον ἔργον, τῆς δὲ ἀσεβείας

ὀπισθοβαρεῖς / ἀνάγκαι. Νόμον δὲ τοῦτον φωνῇ μὲν

ἐξήγγειλεν / ἐμὴ νοῦς δὲ θεῶν ἐκύρωσεν.

Those who have been appointed by him as priests are free from other duties, so that they can devote themselves entirely to the temple service as founded by him. On the annual and monthly feasts the priest has to dress out in the Persian attire, "with which my favour and the ancestral tradition of our race have clothed him, and he has to crown all with the gold wreaths". From the income of the funds he has to make rich sacrifices of incense and herbs on the altars and to prepare sacred repasts for all.

The musicians appointed by Antiochus have no other duty than the brightening of these festivities. Their function passes from father to child and nobody has the right to deprive anyone of his office or to enslave him. Nor can the funds, which he has dedicated to the gods be expropriated, or in any way be prejudiced by anyone. May-so I pray-the paternal gods of Persis, Macedonia and Commagene bless all those, who keep these commandments:

VB. Οἷς ταῦτα πράσ/σουσιν ἐγὼ πατρώους ἅπαντας θεούς

ἐκ Περσίδος τε καὶ Μακέτιδος / γῆς Κομμαγηνῆς τε

ἐστίας εἴλε/ως εἰς πᾶσαν χάριν εὐχομαι δια/μένειν.

L. 35: cf. Jalabert-Mouterde, No. 33 l. 6.

SAMOSATA

33

Black basalt tablet (H. 0.787 Br. 0.35 D. 0.225), found on the banks of the Euphrates near Samosate. London, Br. Mus.

Yorke-Hogarth in *JHS* XVIII, 1898, 312 No. 14; Dittenberger, *OGIS* No.

404; Marshall, *Ancient Greek Inscr. Br. Mus.*, IV (2), 182 No. 1048; Jalabert-Mouterde, *Inscr. Syrie*, 58f No. 52 from which our text.

Remnants of a relief, on which Apollo with aureole, holding out his hand to Antiochus I of Commagene. At the bottom an inscription. After a short introduction, the tendency of which is similar to that of the large inscription of Nemrud-Dagh, there are the following lines:

19. Ἐγὼ πατρώϊαν βασιλεῖαν παραλαβὼν παρὰ]
Διὸς τε Ὀρομάσδου καὶ Ἀπόλλ[ωνος Μίθρου Ἡλίου Ἐρ]-
μοῦ καὶ Ἀρτάγνου Ἡρακλέους [Ἄρεως, καὶ ποιη]-
[σά]μενος παλαίᾳς δυνάμεως [καὶ τύχης νέας τῆς ἐ]-
μῆς ἡλικιῶτιν θεῶν μεγάλω[ν τὴν ἀρχαίαν τιμὴν]
ἐν ἱερᾷ τε λιθείᾳ μιᾷς περιό[δου δαίμοσιν οὐρα]-
25. νίοις χαρακτῆρα μορφῆς ἐμῆς [ἐπηκόοις σύνθρονο]-
ν εἰς δεξιὰς παρέστησα, με/ίμημα δίκαιον φυλάσ]-
[σων ἀθανάτου φροντίδος]

Vs 26 εἰς δεξιὰς: "parait signifier à droite" (des dieux σύνθρονοι); εἰς a peut-être été gravé pour ἐκ" (Ditt.-Jalabert).

DURA-EUROPOS

34

In February 1934 a Mithraeum was discovered on the N.W. side inside the rampart of Dura-Europos (Es-Sâlihiyeh) between gate 24 and 23. After the excavations it was transported to New Haven, Gallery of Fine Arts of Yale University.

Rostovtzeff in *RM* 49, 1934, 180ff; cf. *BCR* 1934 (*Not.*) 121f; *AJA* XXXIX 1935, 4f; 147; 259f and 293ff; Mouterde in *MUSJ* XIX, 1935, 123f; Dussaud in *Syria* XVI, 1935, 313ff; Cumont in *CRAI* 1934, 90ff; Hopkins in *ILN* 8 Dec. 1934, 963ff; du Mesnil du Buisson in *GBA* 1935, 1ff; *CRAI* 1935, 275ff; Watzinger in *die Welt als Geschichte* II, 1936, 397ff; Rostovtzeff e.o. *Report*, 62ff; cf. P. Koschaker in *OLZ* 1941, 271ff; Merlin in *JS* 1940, 36ff. Professor C. B. Welles informs me of the fact, that a final report is in preparation. We have drawn our description from the preliminary report. See fig. 7.

We are highly indebted to Prof. C. B. Welles and Miss Ann Perkins for sending us photographs of the finds.

General plan and history of the Mithraeum.

Rostovtzeff in *RM* 1934, 180ff and fig. 1; *D-E*, Pl. II and fig. 6; *CRAI* 1934, 91ff; *GBA* 1935, 6ff and fig. 2; *Report*, 62ff and figs. 29-35, Pls. I and III, 1, from which our figs. 8-9.

"When the Mithraeum was founded in about 168 A.D. (see inscr. No. 39) it consisted of three apartments (see plans 8, 9). Room A (L. 4.65 Br. 5.80), the Mithras shrine, was entered by an axial door through a partition separating it

from a central chamber *B* (L. 5.75 Br. 3.50), originally a house *diwan*, that opened into a courtyard *D* to the south, and a small chamber *C* (L. 3.50 Br. 3.50) to the east”.

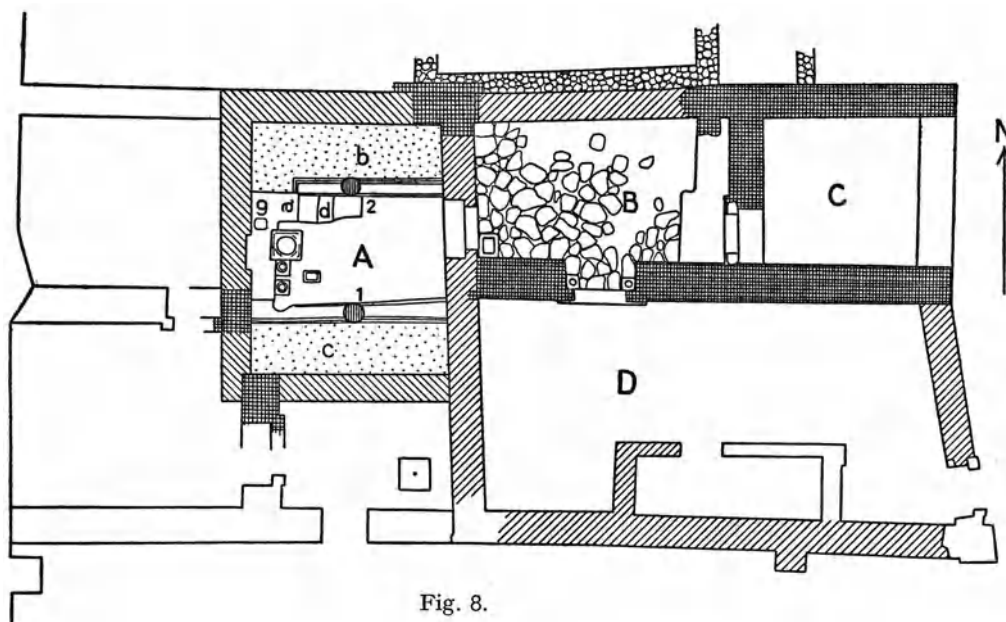


Fig. 8.

A was divided into three parts: a paved passage with on either side the benches *b* and *c* (H. 0.72 Br. 1.70), in which the columns *1* and *2* had been built to support the ceiling, which was approximately 1.65 high over their benches, but about 1.60 higher over the central aisle.

Via the stairs *d* a rectangular, raised platform *a* (H. 0.88), in which a round well 9 (diam. 0.32). In front of *a* stood the main altar with two smaller side-altars, whereas against the backwall two reliefs had been fixed (see *infra*).

About 210 A.D. (see inscr. No. 53) a first rebuilding took place, because in the general destruction of the quarter the early Mithraeum was also destroyed (see fig. 10). The entire sanctuary was enlarged considerably. “The new alter-

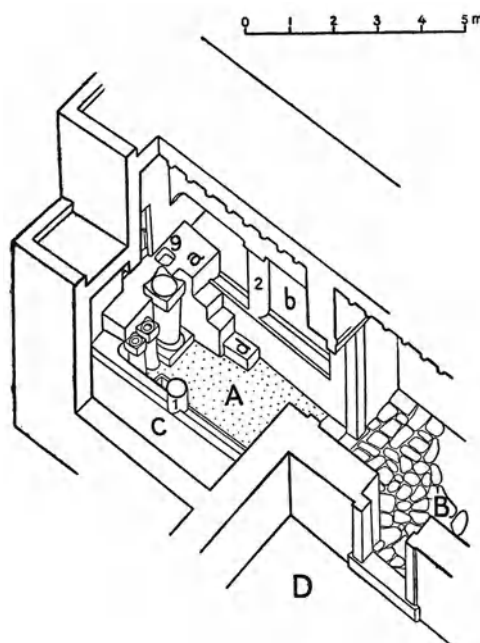


Fig. 9.

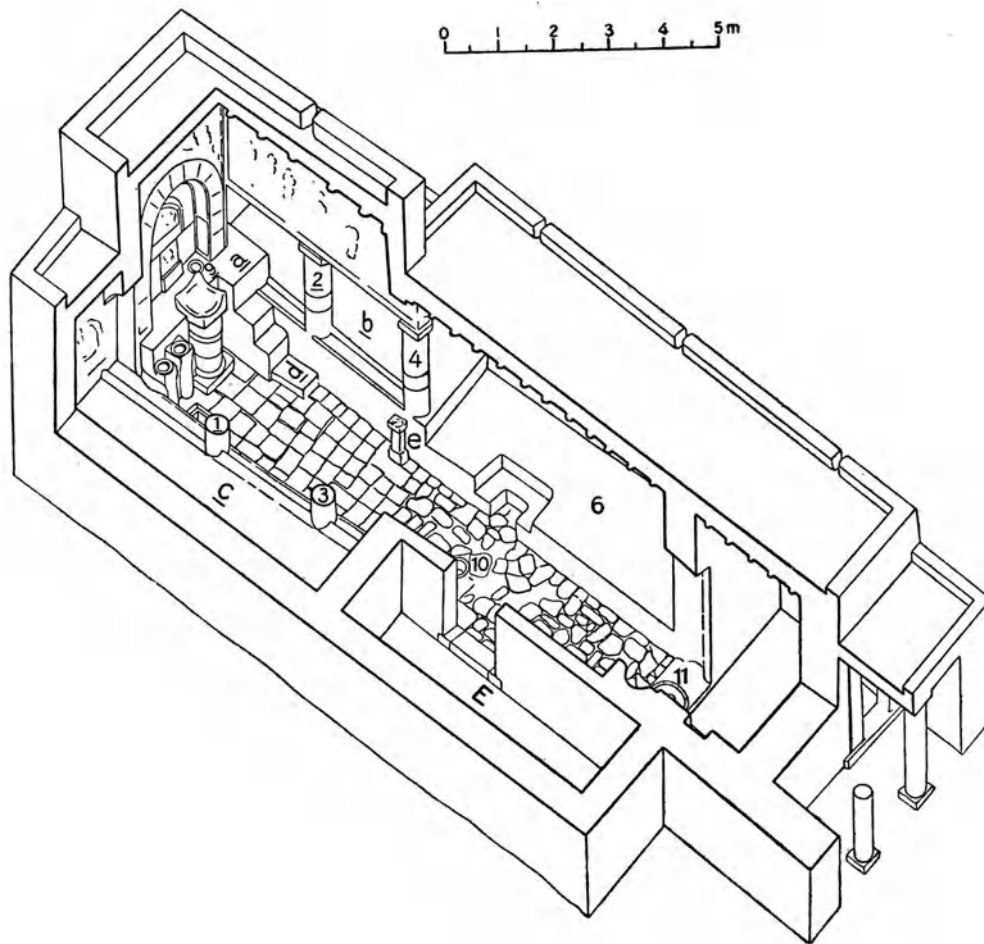


Fig. 10.

ations consisted of adding an antechamber *B* to the Mithras shrine by taking out the dividing partition and adding two more columns 3 and 4 on the foundations of that wall (L. 10.90); of building a small room *E* (L. 5.60 Br. 1.65) on the south and a low bench on the north of this new addition (H. 0.40 Br. 1.70); of turning the east chamber *C* into a vestibule and porch; of constructing an arched niche back of the altar; and of redecorating the entire chamber”.

Opposite a rectangular recess (L. 1.25 Br. 0.75) in the new podium, there was a basin 10 in the middle of the paved floor (Diam. 0.32), another basin 11 was situated in the former room *C*. Underneath the columns 3 and 4 two altars *e* and *f* were placed.

Finally in ca 240 A.D. a second reconstruction took place, which resulted in the

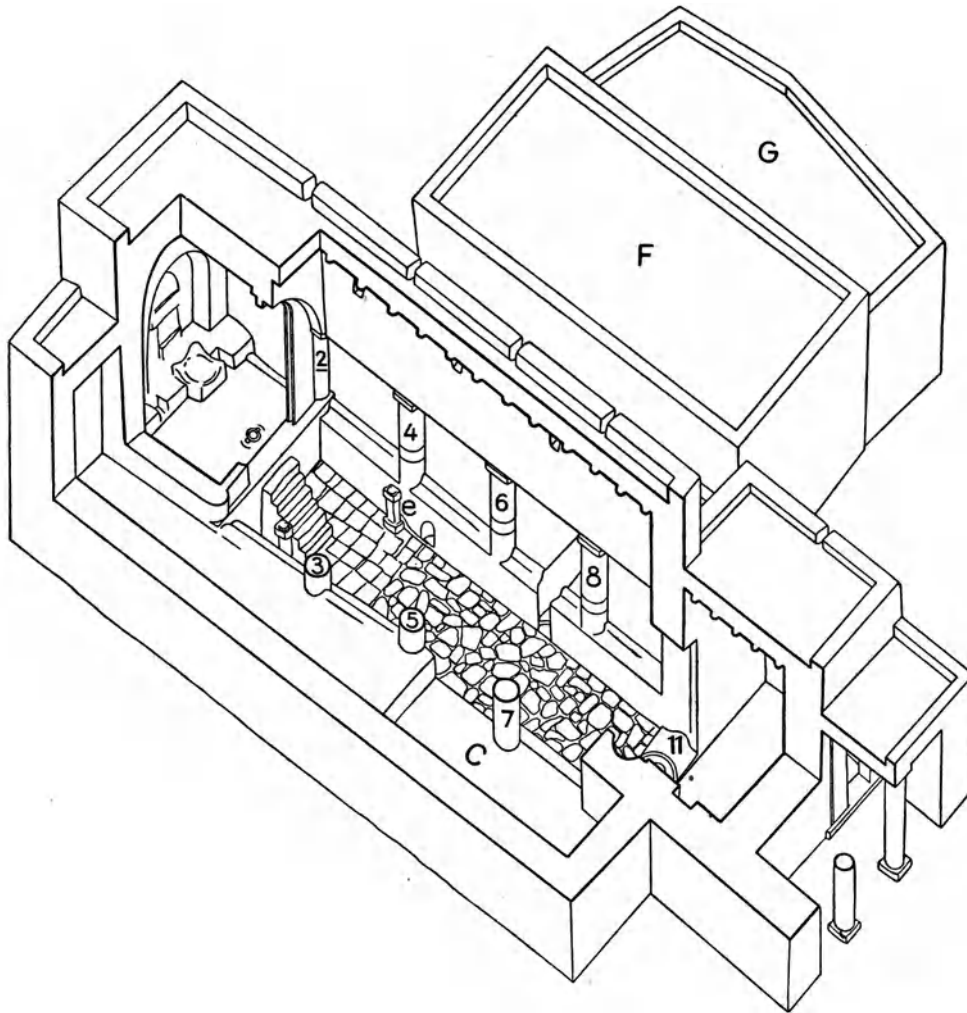


Fig. 11.

definitive shape of the sanctuary (see fig. 11). "It is probable that the roof was removed and altered for the construction of the new vaulted *spelaeum* and the additional columns (5, 6, 7, 8). In the Late Mithraeum, the chamber of the south *E* was entirely removed and in its place was built a bench, probably low; the low bench on the north side was heightened to the level of the upper benches; two more columns were added to either side, making the chamber more symmetrical; two chambers *F* (L. 3.25 Br. 6.00) and *G* (L. 2.50 Br. 6.00) to the north of the building, the earlier history of which is obscure, were joined to the Mithraeum, a narrow passageway being cut through the benches leading to a newly pierced doorway. For the new altar table the aisle between the benches was filled up to

the bench level as far as the first pair (1, 2) of columns and a stair of seven steps was built against the face of this platform. Between the first pair of columns and the wall were built partitions that supported a vault covering the new raised platform''.

When the walls behind the Mithraeum had to be strengthened against the impendency of the Persians under Sapor, the sanctuary got buried under the sand at the capture of the fortification in 256 A.D.

We now proceed to a detailed description of the most important part of the sanctuary, the elevated altar niche (see figs. 12 and 13).

Rostovtzeff in *RM* 1934, 184ff and Pl. 11; *ILN* 1934, 963; *AJA* 1935, Pl. IV; *GBA* 1935, fig. 5; *Report*, 79 and Pl. II and fig. 36.

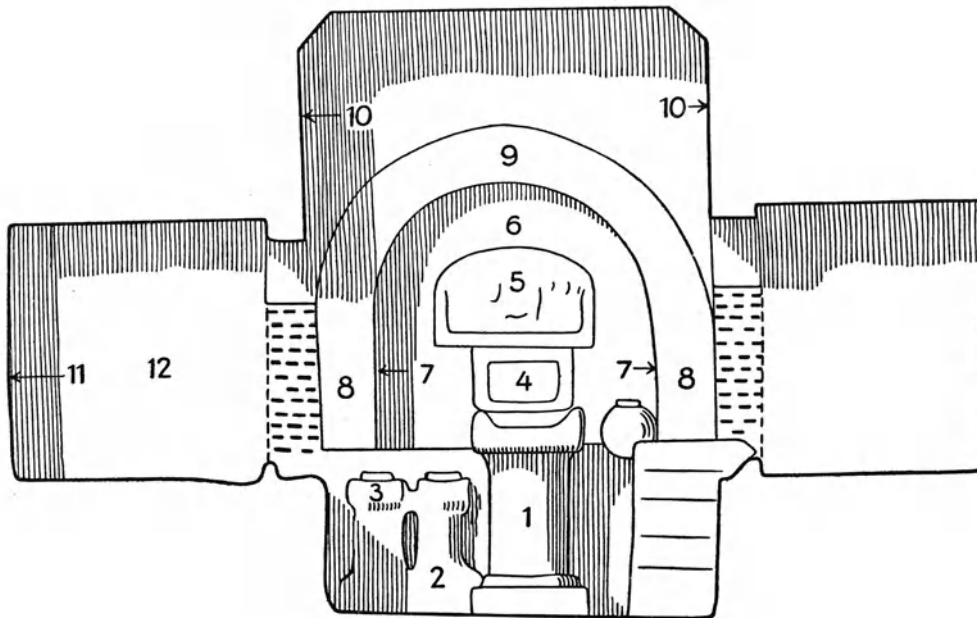


Fig. 12.

35

The main altar (see fig. 12, 1).

ILN 1934, fig. 4; *Report*, 66, 75 and fig. 31; Pl. III, 2.

"All of plaster, the main altar had a square base topped by a quarter-round molding from which sprang the columnar engaged shaft. The top, 0.73 square with a molded point at each corner, projected for one third of its width over the altar table. The central depression was blackened and contained cinders.

To the left of this large altar, 0.08 lower than the altar table and attached to it, were two smaller altars of molded form. Their bases and tops were square, changing

in an unbroken surface to a rounded central shaft. The corners of each top were brought to a point. The central depression of 3 was rimmed with a ring of plaster opened in front to form a nearly closed horse-shoe and the rim had around its edge twelve equally spaced holes about 0.004 in diam. The central depression of 2 was rimmed with a simple smooth ring of plaster. Both altars contained marks of fire and cinders, although their material and position would not have allowed a hot or continuous fire to burn there”.

36

“The south end of the altar table was built up around a wooden block or box, replacing the early low portion of the table there. The plaster altar bowl was replaced by an earthenware pot which was propped up by a reused inscription, and a round pierced bronze ornament indicating the ceremonial placement of the bowl. Under all these additions were found inserted great quantities of small bird, sheep, and fish bones. On the left, beneath the built-in box or block were found eight simple lamps, one broken” (*Report*, 75).

37

Behind the main altar is a small relief (H. 0.42 Br. 0.57 D. 0.10) in white gypsum (see fig. 12, 4 and fig. 14).

ILN 1934, fig. 5; *GBA* 1935, fig. 4; *Report*, 92ff with Pl. XXIX, 1; Mesnil du Buisson in *BSAF* 1939-40, 191, fig. 7; *Berytus* XI, 1954, Pl. II, 2.

The bas-relief shows the usual tauroctone scene of Mithras, who wears Persian clothing (Phrygian cap, flying cloak, tunic, trousers). A dagger sheath is visible at the juncture of the upper garment and the rear quarter of the bull. With his right arm Mithras reaches around the animal's neck and thrusts in the dagger from the front (dagger not visible). From the lower right corner the dog leaps against the bull, holding its nose close to the wound, indicated by the flow of blood, painted in dark red. Just below the dog appears the outline of the snake, which also leaps against the wound. The scorpion is lacking. “To the right above the bull is a large sun disc. The rays were cut in a star pattern on the surface of the disc. To the left is a moon crescent within the horns of which there is a large nine-pointed star. The centers of the sun disc and of the star were cut away in order to remove jewels which were set into small drill holes (diam. 0.002). The bottoms of these holes are clearly visible as are also the marks of the instrument used to break away the stone. A slicing blow upward and toward the left with a dull chisel was employed to make the breaks. A similar break appears in the front of Mithras' cap which also shows the bottom of a drill hole of the same size. A drill hole one millimeter larger in diameter was used to represent the nostril of the bull. It is almost certain that it did not carry a jewel. Between the head of Mithras and the moon crescent the crow appears as if alighting on a perch”.

“On the top splay there are four holes (diam. 0.01). In the first there is a white

inset stone. The second one carried a bit of green glazed pottery, but the other two insets are lost”.

Table of the colours used with numbers indicating the order of application:

Border	1 pink
Splay	1 yellow, 2 gesso in places, 2a yellow
Base	1 pink
Lettering	deep red-1 pink, retraced with red
Background	1 yellow 2 gesso in places, 2a black
Sun and star	1 natural, 2 yellow
Moon	1 natural, 2 natural
Crow	1 black, 2 black
Bull	1 natural, 2 natural (mouth, pink)
Blood	red-1 pink mixed with white
Dog	1 pink (mixed with white?)
Snake	1 (in relief), 2 (scar)black
Mithras'	<i>cap</i> 1 pink; <i>hair</i> 1 yellow; <i>face</i> 1 natural outlined in pink with touches of black; <i>eyes</i> 1 black; <i>hands</i> 1 natural with touches of black; <i>upper garment</i> 1 pink mixed with white (<i>belt and some folds</i> yellow); <i>trousers</i> 1 pink (<i>trimmings</i> yellow); <i>dagger, sheath</i> 1 yellow with touches of pink, 2 black; <i>boots</i> 1 yellow, 2 yellow.

Down the left border of the relief runs an inscription (No. 38) in Greek and in a *tabula ansata* there is another one in Palmyrene (No. 39).

38

Report, 83 No. 845. This and the other inscriptions have been published too in the *Année épigraphique* 1940, 267ff.

L.H. 0.015–0.021.

Ἐθρανεὶ ἰστρατηγῶ.

ἰστρατηγῶ = στρατηγός

39

Report, No. 845; Mesnil du Buisson in *Rev. Et. Sémi.* XXVIII, 1936, No. 19. Palmyrene inscription:

דכרן טב עבד אתפני אסמור[ט]נא
בר זבדעה די על קשמא די בדורא
480 בירח אדר שנת

“A good memorial; made by Ethpeni the *strategos*, son of Zabdē’ā, who is in command of the archers who are in Dura. In the month Adar of the year 480 (168 A.D.)” (du Mesnil du Buisson).

40

Large relief in white gypsum (H. 0.67 Br. 1.05 D. 0.10). Above the smaller relief No. 37.

Rostovtzeff in *RM* 1934, 186ff and Pl. 12; Cumont in *CRAI* 1934, 95f; *ILN* 1934 fig. 6; *AJA* 1935 Pl. Va; *GBA* 1935, fig. 5; Rostovtzeff, *D-E*, Pl. XVIII, 2; *Report*, 95ff and Pls. XXIX, 2; XXX (See fig. 15 and fig. 12, 5).

Mithras tauroctone in Eastern attire (Phrygian cap, cloak, tunic, trousers) sits full front on the bull's back. Between the knee and left fore leg of the bull there are seven small altars. Scorpion and torchbearers are lacking; a small dog and snake try to reach the bull's wound. On the top of Mithras' cloak perches a raven which faces the god. Above Mithras' head the bust of a bearded god (Saturn-Serapis) who wears a *kalathos* and radiate crown. On either side the outlines of a bust, now sliced off but originally in relief (Sun and Moon).

In front of the bull-killing a group of three persons has been represented. "The largest figure is Zenobius who stands on a square stone base near the right column. On the left hand side of the same base stands a small *thymiaterion* upon which Zenobius places incense with his r.h. He is clothed in an undergarment with half length sleeves cut in heavy folds. The upper garment is a mantle which forms a skirt reaching to the tops of his shoes. Zenobius is unbearded and faces front". He wears a small skull cap. To the right of Zenobius is a ledge supported by two Atlantes-like kneeling figures. On this ledge two smaller persons are standing, whose names as well as that of Zenobius have been cut out near their heads: Jariboles and Barnaadath. Both wear trousers; their upper garments extend down to the knee; Jariboles only wears a mantle. He carries a sword attached to a belt about his hips; his left hand rests on the sword at his side, but his right arm is lifted. Barnaadath presses his left hand across his left hip; with his right arm raised he makes a gesture of adoration by turning the palm to the front, extending the thumb, and doubling the fingers into the palm.

"Rising from either side of the base of the relief is a round column standing on a square block and carrying a capital, on which are square *abaci* from the inner edges of which springs a low arch. Beneath this arch is a beveled surface which is occupied by the twelve signs of the Zodiac. These signs begin with the Ram on the extreme left and end with the Fish in the extreme right. With the exception of the Crab and the Archer all the signs face toward the left. Above the back of the Ram there is what appears to be the sun, an incised circle; over the Bull is a small crescent moon; between the heads of the Twins there is what seems to be a star; over the Lion there is a round disc, which may represent the sun. Similar discs appear near the Crab and the Virgin. The last six signs show no subsidiary representations".

In the upper left hand corner, above the arch, is a dressed bust facing to the right (summer); to it corresponds a bust of winter in the other corner. These two busts, however, "were covered with the plaster of the niche in the late period, and so were removed from side at the same time that the busts of Sun and Moon were cut away".

Colours used with numbers, indicating the order of application:

Border and base	1 pink, 2 red on plaster which adheres
Lettering	red, 1 retraced or covered with pink
Background above Zodiac	1 natural, 2 covered with plaster, red on plaster
Background below Zodiac	1 natural, 2 black (after removal of sun and moon busts)
Zodiac	1 yellow, 2 black(?), 3 black
Central bust	1 yellow
Sun and Moon busts	1 (in relief), 2 (<i>scars</i>) black
Busts in upper corners	1 pink (<i>garments</i>), 2 natural (<i>faces</i>)
Crow	1 black, 2 black
Bull	1 natural; <i>blood</i> , pink, 2 orange; <i>blood</i> , pink
Snake and dog	1 red
Altar	1 <i>top</i> , pink; <i>remainder</i> natural
Zenobius	<i>mantle</i> , 1 pink (<i>on some folds</i> yellow); <i>undergarment</i> , 1 black <i>between folds</i> ; <i>hair</i> , 1 yellow, 2(?), 3 black; <i>eyes</i> , 1 black, 2(?), 3 black; <i>boots</i> , 1 yellow, 2 yellow
Jariboles and Barnaadath	1 pink <i>garments</i> , yellow <i>boots</i> , 2(?), 3 <i>faces</i> black
Mithras'	<i>cap</i> , 1 pink, 2 gold, 3 black; <i>hair</i> , 1 orange, 2 gold, 3 black; <i>face and hands</i> , 1 natural, 2 gold, 3 black; <i>upper garment</i> , 1 pink, 2 gold, 3 black; <i>trousers</i> , 1 pink (black stripe); <i>boots</i> , 1 yellow, 2 yellow

On the base of the relief an inscription No. 41.

"Above the relief were six symmetrically placed holes either for hooks to suspend lamps or for a curtain across the relief".

41

Near the heads of the dedicants of relief No. 40.

Report, 97f Nos. 850–2.

1) Ζη/νό/βι/ος

2) 'Ιαρι/βωλῆς

3) Βαρνα/άδαθ

On the base of the relief.

Report, 84 No. 846.

L.H. 0.025.

Θεοῦ (*sic*) Μίθραν ἐπόησεν Ζηνόβιος ὁ καὶ Εἰαειβᾶς 'Ιαριβωλέους / στρατηγὸς τοξοτῶν ἔτους δευτέρου πν'. (170/1 A.D.)

There follow some indistinctly scratched lines (palm-branch?).

Cf. CIL III 7728 (Dorstadt).

42

Around the relief a number of scenes from the Mithras-legend have been painted (see fig. 12, 6). The main colours are black, yellow and grey.

Rostovtzeff in *RM* 1934, 189ff; Cumont in *CRAI* 1934, 97ff; du Mesnil du Buisson in *GBA* 1935, 8ff and figs. 8–12; *Report*, 105ff and Pl. XVIII, 1.

The thirteen pictures, each one of them in a trapezoidal frame, are divided from the larger bas-relief by a stylized painted garland. The key of the arch was

formed by a central picture which divided the series of pictures into two halves, containing six pictures each.

1) The key stone is adorned by the upper part of the body of a beardless god, whose head is surrounded by the nimbus and veiled; in his r.h. he holds the *harpè* (Saturnus) (fig. 16).

Down to the left:

2) Standing bearded Jupiter with a nimbus round his head throws his thunder-bolt at

3) Two anguipede giants. One of them is falling down already, while the other is about to throw a boulder (fig. 17).

4) Against a mountain a reclining figure, wrapped in a long mantle, his head covered with a hanging veil. In his right hand he holds the *harpè* (Saturnus). Above the god a palm-branch. The mountain, consisting of cloudlike little hills, is overgrown (fig. 18).

5) Mithras with the Phrygian cap on his head emerges from a flaming rock, with upraised hands, carrying a torch.

6/7) Lost.

On the right hand side:

8) Standing Mithras in Eastern attire, shoots an arrow from his Parthian bow at a rock or a cloud (water-miracle) (fig. 19).

9) Mithras rides on the back of the bull running to the right. With his r.h. he is making the usual gesture against the evil eye, in his left he is holding a red sphere.

10) Mithras in Persian-Palmyrene attire is transporting the bull on his back into a cave.

11) Mithras is standing in front view. Before him kneels Sol, who is completely nude. Mithras has taken off the Phrygian cap of Sol, which he holds in his r.h., and lays his l.h. on the head of Sol. Above Sol is a sun-disc.

12) Cautes and Cautopates transporting on a big pole the dead body of the bull (fig. 20).

13) Banquet scene. Mithras in his cap to the right, Sol in radiate crown to the left, seated or reclining behind the corpse of the bull. Each holds a *rhyton*. At the left is represented a raven with human body and a raven's head. His beak is open; in his r.h. he holds a long spit with pieces of meat which he offers to the banqueters (fig. 21).

43

The soffit or reveal of the arched niche had been decorated with white stars on a blue background. Near fig. 12, 7 were the remnants of two persons in Phrygian cap and wearing a cape held at the breast by a large brooch (*Report*, 102 and Pl. XIII, 1, 2). In the latter Mithraeum, however, they have been covered up by the twelve signs of the zodiac painted in red and white.

ILN 1934 fig. 1; *GBA* 1935 fig. 5, 6; *Report*, 110.

The signs of the zodiac are painted in a counter-clockwise direction. The series began at the top of the soffit with Aries (lost) and Taurus (lost); then followed the usual sequence through Virgo. The second set began at the bottom at the right. Fish lost.

44

On the front of the *arcosolium* on either side a sitting figure (fig. 12, 8; fig. 22).

Cumont in *CRAI* 1934, 100f; *ILN* 1934 fig. 8, 9; du Mesnil du Buisson in *GBA* 1935, fig. 13; Bidez-Cumont, *Les Mages* I, Pl. I, 1, 2; Rostovtzeff, *D-E*, fig. 10; *Report*, 110f and Pl. XVI, XVII.

"Two persons in the usual Perso-Palmyrene dress seated majestically in two large and fine carved armchairs. Both wear the Mithraic *tiara*, both are bearded and wear a drooping, short, black moustache, both have the Iranian type of face. In the l.h. they hold a white roll and in the right a black cane with a flat top". The whole has been painted in a brownish yellow colour. Probably these *Magi* represent the *patres* of the Dura-community.

45

The upper part of the outer surface of the arch was occupied by a large composition (fig. 12, 9).

Report, 111 and Pl. XVIII, 2.

Only a few remnants are still visible. The center was occupied by the representation of Mithras as a bull-killer between the two dadophores. Mithras and Cauto-pates are not preserved, Cautoes wears a radiate crown. The frontlegs, the horns, genitals and part of the trunk of the bull are visible. Furthermore the head of the snake and part of a torch, pointing down. "To the right and left of this scene were represented seven cypress trees and seven burning altars. Originally there were eight of the latter, but one is obliterated. In the branches of the cypress tree nearest to the right dadophore was painted a little pink figure of a child as if emerging from the tree" (Mithras' birth).

In the left lower corner an inscription No. 46.

46

In black letters. L.H. 0.02-0.025.

Report, 104 No. 853.

Νάμα Μαρέω ζωγράφω.

47

"Several heads were found of such a large scale that they must have belonged to fairly large paintings" (See fig. 12, 10) (*Report*, 104).

48

"Around the niche (fig. 12, 9) were found fragments of a series of small paintings set in a semicircular band of panels. On the left side, next to the bottom, a reclining figure was represented, his head projecting into the border of the panel. Immediately above this another head in a similar position was found.

Farther up, in what would have been the third panel of the series, a small fragment bore the legs of a kneeling figure and above this were what appeared to be the feet of two figures. If all the panels of this series were of the same width, there would have been precisely enough space for thirteen panels". (*Rep.*, 102).

49

"On the south bench, fallen from the back wall (fig. 12, 12), was found a fragmentary scene of Mithras with the Sun, painted in a large scale" (fig. 23).

"Mithras, on the right side reclining to the left, has wide eyes, curly hair, a Phrygian cap. He wears a Persian dress, a long sleeved tunic with embroidered "manchettes", a leather(?) collar divided in squares, each square being adorned with a precious stone, an embroidered front stripe going down the tunic, and a leather belt divided like the collar in squares, with a precious stone set into the centre of each. From the shoulders hangs a cloak, fastened over the breast with a circular brooch. The right arm and hand of Mithras are behind the waist of Sol as if he were embracing him in a friendly gesture. In his left hand he holds a *rhylon*.

Sol is dressed in exactly the same manner as Mithras. His head is bare, encircled by a nimbus and turned right and up. His wide open eyes are gazing up in the direction of heaven" (*Report*, 103 and Pl. XIII, 3).

50

"On this same bench, where the banquet scene was found, and adhering to the south wall (fig. 12, 11), were many fragments of plaster decorated with green leaves and tree branches" (*Report*, 104).

51

"Fragments of a figure dressed in the same manner as Mithras in the banquet scene, were found in the rubbish". The index finger of his r.h. seems to be pointing at something (*Report*, 104 and Pl. XIII, 4).

52

On the side-walls of the niche there is on either side a representation of Mithras as a hunter.

Cumont in *CRAI*, 1934, 102f; Rostovtzeff in *RM*, 190ff and Pl. 13; *ILN* 1934, fig. 7; *AJA* 1935, Pl. V b; *GBA* 1935, fig. 1; *Syria* 1935, 314 with fig.; C. Hopkins, *Aspects of Parthian Art in the Light of Discoveries from D-E*, in

Berytus III, 1936, 1ff and Pl. VIII; *Report*, 112ff and Pls. XIV, XV. See fig. 24 with courtesy of Yale University Art gallery.

The picture on the left wall is excellently preserved. Mithras is represented on horseback galloping to the right and shooting arrows. In the figures of the deer the upper part of their horns has the form of a crescent. The horse has large breast *phalerae* and balloon-like tassels behind. Mithras is dressed in Perso-Palmyrene attire, his bow, arrows and quiver are typically Sassanian.

"The god is assisted by a large snake speeding forward under the feet of his horse and by a big lion galloping before him. Mithras has already wounded all the wild animals. Each of them has an arrow in its neck, two of the arrows being broken, and blood is flowing in abundance from their wounds. The hunt takes place in a forest. The trees are highly stylized. Each has three fan-like leaves or clusters of branches. Besides the trees, there are some low plants on the ground, each with three stems ending in an arrow-like point.

Less well preserved is the picture on the right wall. It is almost identical with that on the left wall. The only difference is that the snake is omitted and its place is taken by a very small lion, almost a copy of the lion of the other picture".

53

Dipinto inside of a *tabula ansata* (H. 0.33 L. 0.65); letters painted, probably red (L.H. 0.042).

ILN 1934, fig. 3; *Report*, No. 847 and Pl. XLIX, 1.

Pro sal(ute) et incol(umitate) d(ominorum) / n(ostorum) imp(eratorum) L. Sep(timi) Severi pii / Pert(inacis) et M. Aurel(i) Antonini [[et L. Sept(im)i Geta[e]]] / Aug(ustorum) tem/plum dei Solis invicti Mithrae sub Minic(io) Martiali proc(uratore) / Aug(usti) / rest(itutum) ab Ant(onio) Valentino (centurione) princ(ipe) / pr(ae)posito ve[x(illationum) leg(ionum) III]I Scyt(hicae) / et XVI F(laviae) F(irmae) p(iae) f(idelis).

Between 209 and 211 A.D.

Ant. Valentinus dedicated an altar in the Dolicheneum at Dura in 211 A.D. (J. F. Gilliam, *The Dolicheneum, II: Inscriptions, Yale 1952, No. 970 and Pl. XIX, 1*; P. Merlat in *RA XLIII, 1954, 184*).

54

Graffito on column 1 in black letters (L.H. 0.01).

RM 1934, 203 and fig. 4; *ILN* 1934, fig. 2; *Ann. ép.* 1935, No. 159; *Report*, No. 848 and Pl. XLIX, 2.

Ὑπὲρ Νίχης τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Αὐτοκράτορος / Νάμα θεῶ Μιθρά / νάμα πάτρασι Λιβει/ανῶ καὶ Θεωδώρῳ / νάμα καὶ Μαρεῖνῳ πε/τίτορι νάμα πᾶσι τοῖς / συνδεξίσις παρὰ τῷ θε[ῶ].

Underneath the word "Μίθρας" in a crown; to the right a palmbranch. The emperor mentioned is probably Caracalla.

55

Dipinto on one of the columns or walls. L.H. 0.005–0.01.

Report, No. 849.

Archelao / trib(un)o felic(iter).

The same name occurs in a dipinto near one of the heads mentioned in No. 43 (*Report*, 90).

56

Graffito on column 1. L.H. 0.015–0.01.

Report, No. 854.

Νάμα [τῷ δεῖνι?] / ὀρθογράφ[ῳ].

57

Dipinto in black letters (L.H. 0.03–0.05) above the podium in the S–W corner of the Mithraeum.

Report, No. 855 and Pl. L, 1.

Ὑπερβερεταίου ιδ' (or ιγ') / Νά[μ]α Καπιτω[λεί]νῳ / πατρί πατέρων / καὶ Σατορ-
νείλῳ / πατρὶ πατέρων κ[α]ὶ / Λ[.] φ κ[α]ὶ Ν]εῖλῳ / κ[α]ὶ Λωριάτῳ ἀντι/πάτρῳ καὶ
'Αντων/εῖνῳ καὶ στρατι[ώταις

58

Dipinto in red letters (L.H. 0.03–0.01).

Report, No. 856 and Pl. L, 2.

[Νά]μα λέουσιν / [ἀβρ]οῖς καὶ Περσέσ/[ιν . .] ἐλεμνοῖς.

59

Inscription in red letters (L.H. 0.025–0.05) inside of a *tabula ansata*.

Report, No. 857.

Νάμα Κα[μ]/ερίῳ στρα/τιώτῃ / ἀκερίῳ.

60

Engraved above the preceding No. L.H. 0.01–0.02.

Report, No. 858.

Νάμα ἐλπίσι Ἀντωνεῖνῳ [στ]/ερεώτῃ ἀγαθῷ συνδεζίῳ / τῷ εὐσεβεῖ.

61

Engraved in column 1. L.H. unknown.

Report, No. 859.

[N]ama / Maximus / magus.

62

Engraved in fragment of a column. L.H. 0.01–0.015.

Report, No. 860.

Nam[a] / Maximus / scen[i]co / leg(ionis) IIII Sc(ythicae).

63

We could only find the following terms of the *mystae*, because the preliminary Report has not yet published all the inscriptions.

κόραξ; στρατιώτης; ἄβρὸς λεων; μελλολέων; Πέρσης; πατήρ; ἀντίπατηρ; νύμφη
or ἀγαθὴ νύμφη; στερεώτης; σοφιστής; συνδέξιος.

It seems that the νύμφος occurs sixteen times.

64

Scratched on a piece of wall plaster. L.H. 0.006–0.013.

F. Heichelheim in Tenney Frank, *Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, IV 1938, 207; *Report*, No. 861 and Pl. L, 3.

δάννα . . . / κρέας . . . / ἔλεν ✕ . . . / ξύλα ✕ β' / ῥεφανίδια υε' / κάρτα υβ' / ἐλλύχιν
υε'.

“A jar of wine, [denarii–]; meat, [den. –]; oil, den. [–]; wood, den. 2; radishes, assaria(?) 5; paper, ass. 2; lamp wicks, ass. 5”.

65

Scratched on piece of wall plaster. L.H. 0.015–0.03.

Report, No. 862; Heichelheim, *o.c.*, 207.

κρέας ✕ ι [θ' υ' ζ?] / γαρέλεν ✕ α' / χάρτα υα' / ὕδω[ρ] ✕ α' / χύλα ✕ α' / δάννα ✕ κη' υ
ια' / ✕ να υ ια'.

“meat, den. 19 ass. 17; sauce, den. 1; paper, ass. 1; water, den. 1; wood, den. 1; jar of wine, den. 28 ass. 11; total, den. 51 ass. 11”.

66

Engraved on column 3 in minute letters.

Report, No. 863.

εἴσοδος / ἔξοδος.

67

Scratched on a large piece of wall plaster.

Report, No. 864 and Pl. L, 4.

Patri / vita Ka/merio.

68

Scratched above the preceding No.

Report, No. 865.

πρωτον ἄσθμα / τὸ καὶ μάγοις ἢ νίπτρον ὅσ(σ)ίω(ν).

69

On piece of wall plaster. L.H. 0.006–0.008.

Report, No. 866.

τὸν γῆς ἀγ . . . / καὶ ὕδατος . . . / παρειμα . . . / ἀλκιμο . . .

70

Inscription found in the cella of Turmasgade in the Dolicheneum. "Cut on the lowest slab of the east jamb of the court door after it was in place. An iron dowel was later set in its face".

Ann Perkins, *The Excavations at Dura-Europos. The Dolicheneum*, Harvard 1952, 115f No. 974 and Pl. XX, 1; P. Merlat in *RA* XLIII, 1954, 194 n. 3.

L.H. 0.035.

Διὶ Ἡλίῳ / Μίθρα ἁγίῳ ὑψίστῳ / ἐπηκόῳ / Το[υρ]μασγή / δὴ [. . .] Ἰου/[λιαν]δὸς
στρα(τιώτης) / [λε]γ(εῖνος) ἱΦ Φ(λαουίας) φ(ίρμης) / [Ἀν]τωννία/νῆς.

First quarter of the third century A.D.

ARSHA-WA-QIBAR

71

Rectangular relief (H. 0.54 Br. 0.98). Museum Damascus. Found in 1932 by Captain Lavrieste on the left bank of the Afrin, near a bridge where the Roman road from Antiochia bifurcates to the East and North-East.

Cumont in *Syria* 1933, 381ff and Pl. XL, 2; *Berytus* XI, 1954, Pl. III, 1. See fig. 25.

The relief is hewn out in a thick piece of rock-stone. A monstrously small Mithras in Eastern dress as a bull-killer. Behind the animal's drooping tail a snake; on the other side, in front of the bull, the dog. The raven flies towards the god, the scorpion is invisible. In the upper corners the busts of Sol(l) and Luna(r). On either side of the main scene, separated from it by vertical rims, the torch-bearers. Each of them has a torch in the one and an oval object (plate or vase) in the other hand.

SAHIN

72

Inscription found at Sahin in Phoenicia. This is in the country of Khouabe, near *Tortosa* (near the *Aradus*).

Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, 103; MMM II No. 5.

[Θε]ῶ ὑψίστῳ οὐρανίῳ ὑ[πάτω καὶ Ἡλίῳ ἀνικήτῳ] / [Μί]θρα ὁ βῶμὸς ἐκτίσθ[η . . .] /
[ὁ]ρῶν ἐν τῷ κφ', ἐπ/ικρατείας?] / [ὑπὲ]ρ σωτηρίας Θεο[φ]ρά[στου] /
ἐπὶ ἀρχῆς Σολωμάνο[υ]

208 A.D. according to the Seleucide-era.

SERIANE(?)

73

Franz Cumont in *Syria* 1933, 382 n. 2 gives a note regarding the doubtful existence of a Mithraeum at Quasr-ibn-Wardân (Seriane?): "A propos de la fondation du château de Quasr-ibn-Wardân les Bédouins racontent une légende de laquelle Nöldeke a conclu que c'était un fort du limes et qu'il s'y trouvait un

Mithréum (cf. Littmann, *Ruinenstätten Syriens*, 16), mais cette interprétation est très douteuse" (cf. Honigsmann in *PW* s.v. *Syria* col. 1579; 1560).

SIDON

74

About the Mithraeum at Sidon (Saïda), the article of the journalist Durighello, which has been published again by Reinach, does not give satisfactory explanation. Part of his statements, especially those about the finds, is based on the truth; according to de Ridder, however, one has "démésurement grossi l'importance d'une découverte réelle". Beside the statues, niches are mentioned, in which they shall have been placed, and a tessellated floor. According to the seleucid era the Mithraeum must have existed in the second century, assuming, however, the autonomic era of the city itself, the sanctuary existed in the fourth one. The last dating has been proposed by E. Will in *Syria* XXVII, 1950, 261ff, especially the name of one of the dedicators Fl. Gerontios points into this direction.

The collection of sculptures (coll. Péretié) was bought by de Clercq in Paris in 1882 and is now deposited with Comte Louis de Boisgelin, 5 Rue Masseran, Paris (VII). To his kindness we owe that we have been in the opportunity to study the documents.

E. Durighello in *Bosphore Egyptien*, 19 Aug. 1887; S. Reinach in *RA* (I) 1888, 91ff; *Chroniques d'Orient*, I, 434ff; *MMM* II 191 No. 4; de Ridder, *Coll. Cl.* IV, 52ff.

75

Relief of Parian marble (H. 0.445 Br. 0.77 D. 0.08).

de Ridder, 55ff No. 46 and Pl. XIX (see fig. 26); *DS*, col. 1952 fig. 5092; *RRR* II 301, 4; Leipoldt, IX and fig. 15; Saxl, fig. 195.

Mithras puts his r. foot victoriously on the hind-leg of the bull and thrusts the dagger into its heart. The god is represented in Eastern attire: a short chiton with a tight-fitting string around the chest, a flying cloak adorned with stars, high boots and a Phrygian cap with a star on the point. Dog and snake want to lick the abundantly flowing blood; the scorpion clasps the testicles. The latter, however, belongs at the same time to the signs of the zodiac, which has been depicted round the scene.

Behind the bull there are four representations:

1) On a pedestal a naked youth with a *chlamys* thrown over his r. shoulder; he holds a pair of scales (*wega*) in his upraised r.h.

2) Standing Virgo, with long garment, drawn over her head.

3) On a pedestal stands a roaring Lion with raised fore-legs.

4) Cancer.

Above from left to right:

5) On a base the nude Twins embracing each other. The left figure in a beard, holds a club in his raised r.h.

6) Taurus to the left.

7) Aries to the right.

8) Two Fishes in opposite direction above each other.

In front of the bull:

9) On a pedestal a naked youth emptying an amphora over his l. shoulder (Aquarius).

10) Capricorn to the left with the tail of a fish.

11) Centaur as an archer (Sagittarius).

In the corners of the relief the busts of the four seasons are represented as children, in medallions. In the bottom corners the bust of winter(l) in a cap and with a duck on the left side; the bust of autumn(r) with a shawl wrapped around her shoulders and a wreath in her hair; a basket with fruit by the right side. In the upper corners the bust of spring(l), half-naked with a chaplet of leaves in her hair; by her side a flower-basket with handle. The half-clothed bust of summer(r) with a corn of ears in her hair. By her side a sheaf.

In between the latter two are, also in medallions, the dressed bust of Luna(l) with elaborate headdress and crescent behind her shoulders and of Sol(r) with radiate crown around his curly head. Before and behind Mithras a raven, the right of which is represented much larger.

76

Statue of Parian marble (H. 0.79 Br. 0.87).

de Ridder, 59f No. 47 and Pl. XX (see fig. 27).

Mithras in Eastern attire, girded with a sheath, kills with a large dagger the bull. The dog with collar, the snake and the scorpion on the usual place. On the bottom border an inscription:

Φλ. Γερόντιος, πατήρ νόμιμος τῶν τελετῶν τοῦ θεοῦ εὐχαριστῶν ἀφιερῶσάτω τῷ φ' ἔτει.

According to E. Will: 389 A.D.; but according to the Seleucid era the Sidon sculptures are dated to the year 188 A.D. Cf. Le Roy Campbell in *Berytus* XI, 1954, 26 n.1.

77

Statue of Parian marble (H. 0.80 Br. 0.83).

de Ridder, 60f No. 48 and Pl. XXI (see fig. 28); Leipoldt, fig. 31; Saxl, fig. 193.

Mithras, in short chiton and shod, carries the young bull on his shoulders.

78

Statue of Parian marble (H. 1.08).

de Ridder, 61ff No. 40 and Pl. XXII-XXIII (see fig. 29); Legge in *Proc. Soc. bibl. arch.*, 1912, Pl. XIX, 18; 1915, 154 and Pl. XXIII, 1; DS *col.* 1951 fig.

5090; RRS II 266, 4; Gressmann, *Or. Rel.*, 146 fig. 54; Cumont in *CRAI* 1928, 277 and Pl. I, 3; Leipoldt, XV and figs. 35–36; MM, Pl. I, 6; Lavedan, *Dict. Myth.*, 654 fig. 617; Pettazzoni in *AntC.* XVIII, 1949 Pl. VII.

On a round pedestal with inscription (No. 79) stands an entirely naked figure with a lion's head (Aion). Beneath his wide-open mouth the head of a snake, entwining him in three large coils. In his hands, which he holds stiffly by his sides the god carries two keys. A double pair of wings attached to his back; behind his legs a tree-stump. The purpose of a round hole in the back of his head is doubtful.

79

Φλ. Γερόντιος, πατήρ νόμιμος, ἀνεθέμην τῷ φ' ἔτι.

80

Statue of Parian marble (H. 0.87 Br. 0.18; base 0.30).

de Ridder, 63f No. 50 with Pl. XXIV (see fig. 30).

Cautes in short chiton and long mantle, holds in his hands the torch. A dog, two legs of which have got lost, jumps towards the left.

81

Statue of Parian marble (H. 0.88 Br. 0.13; base 0.28).

de Ridder, 64f No. 51 with Pl. XXV.

Cautopates in Eastern attire, holds in his hands the torch. Behind his left leg a snake.

82

Statue of Parian marble (H. 0.86 Br. 0.22; base 0.35).

de Ridder, 65f No. 52 with Pl. XXVI (see fig. 31).

Near a tree-stump Cautes is standing in Eastern attire. In his r.h. he holds an ornamented double-axe; in his l.h. a torch, pointed upwards. Over his arm he carries a piece of cloth.

83

Statue of Parian marble (H. 0.88 Br. 0.38; base 0.19).

de Ridder, 66f No. 53 with Pl. XXVII (see fig. 32).

Torchbearer (Cautes) in a long mantle and booted stands beside a tree-stump, to which a quiver has been attached with the aid of a strap. In his r.h. he holds the torch, in his l.h. an eight-shaped double-axe.

84

Statue of Parian marble (H. 0.755; diam. base 0.245).

de Ridder, 67ff No. 54 and Pl. XXVIII; Will in *Syria* XXVII, 1950, 167 fig. 1.

On a base, in which an inscription (No. 85), a standing triple Hekate, the heads of whom bear a commune polos. The figure is encircled by three dancing Nymphs.

85

Φλ. Γερόντιος, πατήρ νόμιμος, εὐχαριστῶν τὴν θεὸν ἀφιερῶσάτω φ' ἔτι.

86

A bronze Venus (de Ridder, III, 44 No. 43 and Pl. VIII) and another one in Parian marble. The latter shows traces of red painting in her hair.

87

In the personal notes of Fr. Cumont, which he shortly before his death gave for our perusal, we find that the monuments of Sidon have been found: "dans une salle sans fenêtres entièrement murée (pour échapper à la destruction)".

SECIA

88

A rectangular relief in bazalt (H. 0.72 Br. 0.68 D. 0.10). Preserved in the Museum at Damascus. Found at Sî (Djebel Druze) in front of the temple of Doushara or Dusares.

Butler in *Syria*, 399 and fig. 344B; Frothingham in *AJA* 1918, 54ff and Pl. III (see fig. 33); Cumont in *RHR* LXXVIII, 1918, 207ff; Watzinger-Wulzinger, 109 No. 7 and fig. 75; Will in *Syria* XXIX, 1952, 67f; *Berytus* XI, 1954, Pl. II, 1; Abdul-Hak, 64 and Pl. XXVII, 2.

Mithras tauroctone in usual attire and Phrygian cap. Scorpion and snake near the genitals of the bull; dog leaping up; the raven on the flying cloak of the god. Behind the bull Cautes is standing with upraised torch. The upper corners are occupied by the busts of Sol(l) with a crown of six (originally seven) rays around his head and of Luna(r) with crescent behind her shoulders. Remarkable is, that the bull's tail is not pointing upwards, but droops down.

89

A second relief (H. 1.15 Br. 1.06), certainly made by the same sculptor, had been inserted in a larger bazalt-stone, which is beside the entrance of a grotto. Museum at Damascus.

Will in *Syria* XXIX, 1952, 68 and Pl. VI, 2.

Representation of Mithras tauroctone. Except for some minor differences it is identical with the preceding one, but now the two torchbearers are represented. Above the relief the inscription:

D(eo) S(oli) I(nvicto).

Both reliefs may have belonged to the same *spelaeum*, from which No. 88 must have been dragged away to the temple of Dusares.

LATTAKIEH-TARTOUS

90

Fragment of white marble relief (H. 0.20 Br. 0.13 D. 0.07). The exact origin is not known, but as provenience the Syrian coast between Lattakieh and Tartous is indicated. Museum at Aleppo. First half of the 2nd cent. A.D.

Will in *Syria* XXIX, 1952, 67 and Pl. VI, 1 ; 3.

Head of Mithras with Phrygian cap and surrounded by a nimbus and rays. Above it part of the rock.

AEGYPTUS

91

At about a mile's distance from the village of Mît-Rahîne near Memphis a Mithraeum has been discovered, which itself has not yet been described. The finds have been transported to the Museum of Caïro.

Marble relief (H. 0.92 Br. 0.69). Inv. No. 85747.

Virey, *Gizeh*, 95 No. 296 and 296bis; MMM II 407 and 520ff No. 285 with fig.; Wiedemann in *Wiener Zeitschr. f. die Kunde des Morgenlandes* XXXI, 1924, 310f; Maspéro, *Guide Caïre*, 219 No. 990; Strzygowsky, *Cat. Caïre*, 9ff with fig. (see fig. 34).

Mithras in ochreous tunic and red cloak as bull-killer. Snake creeping over the ground, dog near the wound; scorpion on the usual place. The background is rocky; in it on the left side the raven and in the middle above Mithras' head a bust, coming out of the rock (Saturn). On either side of this main scene a column with capitals of foliage, supporting the arch of the grotto. On these columns Cauter(r) and Cautopates(l) are represented, holding with both hands their torches. They do not stand cross-legged. In the upper corners, outside the niche, the busts of Sol in nimbus and radiate crown and of Luna in a crescent. This part of the relief has been richly adorned with leafy branches.

Lost: head and r. arm with dagger of Mithras; the rear quarter of the dog and the lower part of Cauter.

92

Relief in limestone (H. 0.87 Br. 0.80). Inv. No. 7259.

MMM II No. 285b and fig. 479.

In a cave Mithras, killing a very small bull. The god, whose r. arm and head have got lost, wears a Phrygian cap with two long flaps hanging over his shoulders. On the border of the rock the raven; the dog and snake are present; whether the scorpion had been represented is not clearly to be seen. In the upper corners the busts of Sol(l) in nimbus and radiate crown and of Luna in crescent(r). On the border of the rock traces of red paint.

93

Relief in limestone (H. 0.85 Br. 0.70). Inv. No. 7260.

MMM II No. 285c and fig. 480.

The badly preserved and primitive relief represents Mithras in Eastern attire

as a bull-killer. The dog, snake and scorpion are present; the raven is no longer visible. In the upper corners the busts of Sol and Luna had presumably been represented.

94

Statue in limestone (H. 0.75). Inv. No. 7268.

MMM II No. 285*d* and fig. 481; Strzygowsky, *o.c.*, 14f; RRS III 138, 7 (fig. 35).

Standing figure with lion's head; the upper part of his body is nude. Round the hips he wears a loincloth, tied up in front (Aion).

95

Statue in limestone (H. 0.75).

MMM II No. 285*e* with fig. 485; RRS III 140, 9.

On a base a person in Eastern attire and Phrygian cap. He holds his left arm down, the right, however, probably raised (Cautes).

96

Fragment of a statuette in limestone (H. 0.40).

MMM II No. 285*f* and fig. 484; RRS III 140, 8.

Torchbearer in Eastern attire. The head, the legs beneath the knees and the torch are lost. Not cross-legged.

97

Statuette in limestone (H. 0.50).

MMM II No. 285*g* and fig. 483; RRS III 140, 6.

On a base a standing torchbearer not cross-legged. The torch in his l.h. which he presses against his body, has got lost as well as the r. arm and head.

98

Upper part of a statue in limestone (H. 0.40).

MMM II No. 285*h* and fig. 482; RRS III 140, 5.

Standing torchbearer dressed in a tunic and hanging cloak. The cap leaves the front part of the head uncovered. The arms and the legs beneath the knees are lost.

99

Badly damaged fragment of a statuette in limestone (H. 0.25).

MMM II No. 285*i* and fig. 486.

Standing person in Eastern attire. Head, arms and feet are lost.

100

Statue in limestone (H. 0.50).

MMM II No. 285j and fig. 487.

Standing lion, mouth half-open. Legs and tail lost.

101

Two figures of women, of which it is not sure that they have been found inside the enclosure of the Mithraeum (H. 0.45 and 0.50). They are clothed in long garments and one of them is standing cross-legged, the other rests a branch over her left shoulder, ending in a bunch of flowers (MMM II No. 285k/l and figs. 488/9).

APOLLINOPOLIS(?)

102

Upper part of a statuette in limestone (H. 0.53). Find-spot unknown. The statuette had been bought by A. Wiedemann in 1882 at Luxor from a man "who just came from Kûs, the ancient Apollinopolis". Probably in the Museum at Cairo.

Wiedemann in *Wiener Zeitschr. f. die Kunde des Morgenlandes* XXXI, 1924, 311f. Further details of this statuette we have not been able to obtain.

Standing man with lion's head, the mane of which cover a great part of his breast. A snake is winding itself over his shoulders, and via its armspits it ties itself into a knot over his breast. Judging from the remains the r. upper arm was stretched out and the left raised. No wings on his shoulders. The lower part has got lost, but the rear quarter must have been that of a lion, the legs human.

OXYRHYNCHUS

103

Relief in limestone (H. 0.98–1.02 Br. 0.57–0.58 D. 0.08) broken in three parts. "Un ritrovamento clandestino dei cavatori di Sébach". Museum of Greek and Roman Antiquities at Alexandria.

Breccia, *Cronos mitriaco*, 257ff with Pl. (see fig. 36); D. Levi in *Hesperia* XII, 1944, 275 fig. 5; Pettazzoni in *AntC.* XVIII, 1949, 271 and Pl. II, 4.

Standing Aion with four wings, one pair pointing upwards, the other pair pointing downwards. The god is represented as partly human partly animal. Around the lion's head a nimbus with radiate crown, only four of which are visible owing to damage. Bare arms and breast; the lower part of the body from the hips to the cloven hoofs is covered with shaggy hair. A rearing lion has been represented between the two left wings, above the animal a star. In each hand he holds a key, moreover, the r.h. lifts a torch; between his thumbs a long object, probably a lightning.

From each hand a snake is hanging, one of which holds his head over a krater, the other over a small burning altar, which are standing on either side of the god. Creeping up to the altar is a third and bigger snake, coming from between the teeth of Aion's mouth.

On the relief remnants of a coat of painting have been preserved (golden-yellow, red, blue).

According to Pettazzoni in *AntC.* XVIII, 1949, 265ff the Aion in general finds its iconographical origin in Egypt. In connection herewith it may be suitable to point out, that Mithras must have been worshipped in Egypt in the third century B.C. A papyrus from Gurob in the Fajoum (J. G. Smyly, *Greek Papyri from Gurob (Cunningham Memoirs XII)*, Dublin 1921, 36ff) contains an inventory of small cattle belonging to the temple-properties of Aphrodite, Hermes, Nephtimis and, according to line 10, of Mithras. Of this "Mithraeum", however, no traces have been found.

In a papyrus from Oxyrhynchus from 214 A.D. a certain M. Aurelius Andronicus has the surname of *Mithres* (U. Wilcken, *Grundzüge der Papyruskunde*, Berlin 1912, 129; W. Schubart, *Einführung in die Papyruskunde*, Berlin 1918, 343; 353).

ALEXANDRIA(?)

104

Head in limestone (H. 0.105) found at Egypt (Alexandria?). Tübingen, Inv. No. 3856.

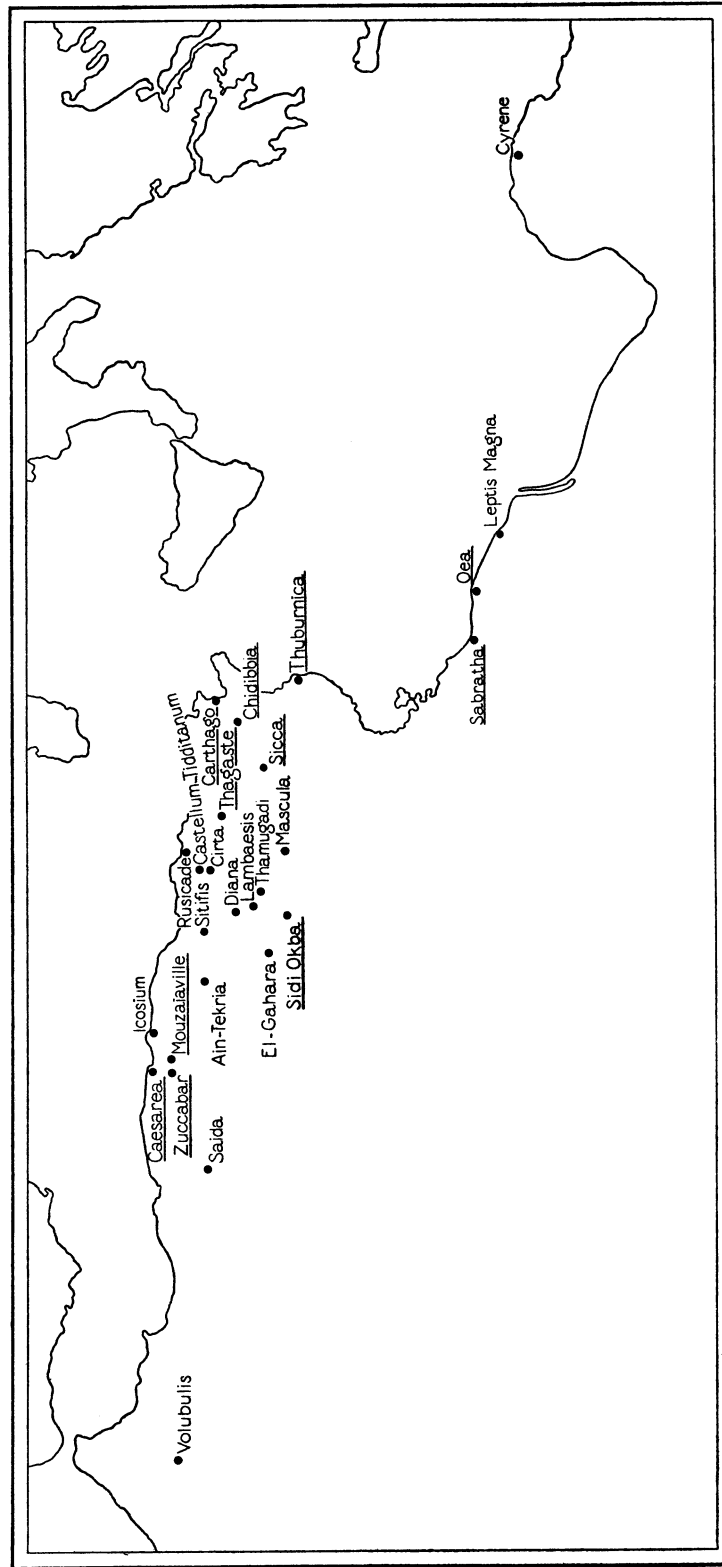
Exped. Sieglin II (IB), 126f No. 116 with fig. 52 and Pl. VIII, 3.

Head with Phrygian cap to the r. Pathetical expression (Mithras?) Neck restored in gypsum.

105

Exped. Sieglin l.c. cites "das Fragment einer Marmorscheibe mit Mithrasdarstellung in der Sammlung Rubensohn in Berlin".

AFRICA



LIBYA

CYRENE

106

Marble head (H. 0.15), found under the threshold of the Iseum at Cyrene.

Ghislanzoni, *Sant. Div. Al.*, 164f with fig. 7; Cumont in *JS* 1927, 318ff; P.

Romanelli, *La Cirenaica romana*, Roma 1943, 223.

Head with locks of hair and Phrygian cap. Mouth half-open; pathological expression. Nose damaged. Very probably the head of Mithras as bull-killer. End of second or begin of third cent. A.D.

107

Damaged statue. Proportion and Museum not known to us. Found at Cyrene "nel piazzale della fonte di Apollo".

Ghislanzoni, *o.c.*, 204 n. 1.

On a rectangular base, a bull is lying whose head has got lost. On his outstretched hindleg a l.foot and a part of a leg. In the bull's side a hole, where the dagger had been thrust in. On the bull's back several junctures. Mithras as bull-killer.

TRIPOLITANIA

LEPTIS MAGNA

108

Statue (H. 2.03) in red, local limestone. Discovered at Leptis Magna in the Forum Vetus.

Caputo in *Archeologia Classica* I, 1949, 205ff and Pl. LVI, 1.

Standing person in Eastern attire; not cross-legged. The head got lost, but on the shoulders there are still remnants of the ribbons of a Phrygian cap. The foremost part of the arms got lost; it is, however, clear that he raised the r.arm whereas the other arm was hanging down.

On the base an inscription:

109

L.H. 0.032.

Aristius Antiochus fec(it).

110

From the Forum Vetus "dalla parte della Basilica scavata da Guidi" comes a second base of the same limestone and with the same inscription (L.H. 0.028). On

it two feet, shod in the same way. From other fragments it appears to be a representation of a person in Eastern attire, certainly a torchbearer.

III

Small marble head. Badly damaged. Found in Leptis Magna near the temple of the Magna Mater in the Forum.

Caputo in *Archeologia Classica* I, 1949, 207 and Pl. LVI, 2.

Head with very pathetic expression. Phrygian cap. Probably a head of Mithras tauroctone.

III2

Caputo, *o.c.*, 207 mentions a white marble relief, found in the Forum Vetus (H. 0.53 Br. 0.61 D. 0.10). Giacomo Caputo was so kind to send us the following informations: "La figura in alto rilievo poggia su zoccolo, che fa parte della lastra. Questa reca alcuni intacchi per aggrapparla. È consorella di altre. Mithra è nel suo abito particolare ed ha la gamba sinistra di carico, mentre la destra è flessa. Porta una lancia nella mano sinistra alzata. Il braccio destro è steso, ma, essendo incompletamente conservato, non si possiede l'attributo od oggetto portato in mano. Lo zoccolo ha l'altezza di 0.105.

Le lastre dovevano ornare qualche grande base o podio. Le divinità rappresentate nelle altre sono: Cibele, Diana, una Tyche, Minerva."

OEA

III3

Two sepulchral vaults hewn out in the rock side by side at Guigariche, 7 k.m. west of Tripoli.

Clermont-Ganneau in *CRAI* 1903, 357 ff with fig.; cf. *AA* 1904, 117 with fig.; *AJA* 1904, 124f.

In one of the walls there is a niche in which the tomb. The niche is completely painted over as well as the adjoining walls. On its back-wall a dead person is represented. Dressed in an expensive tunic, he lies down amongst flowers and trees. On the sidewalls of the niche, on either side, a painted naked genius, putting their hands up to their faces in mourning. On the front-side of the tomb a scene, of which only a standing person with outstretched arm has been preserved. Next to the niche on the left sidewall, a walking person in long garment with a raised candle-stick in his r.h. Above the niche, between two peacocks and in a *tabula ansata* an inscription (No. 114), which is continued on the cover of the tomb, on which moreover a leaping lion is represented.

In the other room, also with niche and tomb, the frescoes are better preserved. On the backwall of the niche, the bust of the deceased woman is depicted in a medallion supported on either side by a woman. In her l.h. she holds a scroll, the other hand she presses against her breast. The whole in a yellow frame. On the

sidewalls of the niche, two naked mourning persons are lying stretched out on a red cloth. On the walls next to the niche on either side a walking person with short head-dress and dressed in a richly adorned tunic. They hold a candle-stick in their hands. Above the niche in a wreath carried by two genii with blue wings and in red, flying garments, an inscription (No. 115) which is continued in red characters on the body of a lioness, which has been represented on the cover of the tomb. On the tomb itself a race between several *quadrigae* in the circus is shown.

114

Aelius Ma[gn]us Iuratani (filius) / bixit annus. . . . / plus mi(nus).

On the cover of the tomb: [qu]i leo iacet.

115

D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum) / Aelia Arisuth / vixit annus / sexaginta plus minus.

On the cover of the tomb: quae lea iacet.

This might be the grave of a mithraist with the hierarchic grade of a Lion; *cf.* a representation of a Lion with candle-stick in the Mithraeum of S. Prisca's at Rome (No. 482,6). But then it is very strange, that this sect should have accepted women as well. *Cf.* a similar find from Artanada (Lycaonia) in Sterrett, *Am. Papers* III, No 153; MMM II No 550.

BU-NGEN

116

Giacomo Caputo writes us about an inscription, discovered at the Roman Fort of Bu-Ngem by the British School at Rome: "è su chiave d'arco". It is a dedication to *Sol invictus* by a *Peticius Pastor*.

SABRATHA

117

Prof. Giacomo Caputo gave us the following informations: "In Sabratha, proveniente dalla zona presso l'Anfiteatro, cioè dalle necropoli, esiste la parte inferiore d'una casetta o cinerario di marmo bianco (H. 0.135 Br. 0.34 D. 0.30) con parete spesso m. 0.04. Sul davanti è una scena a rilievo; sui fianchi la superficie è suddivisa in parti quadrangolari come a rappresentare un mura di conci; sul rovescio è grezza. La scena posa su un piccolo zoccolo semplicemente ornato di tratti ondulati ed obblighi come in ramo estremamente stilizzato. Ai fianchi è la parte inferiore di due fusti o colonnette sorgenti da due cespi di acanto abbozzati appena. Sui due fusti sembra appoggiarsi la parte inferiore di un oggetto cornucopia?). È rappresentato Mitra che uccide il toro, fra scudi e qualche altro oggetto."

If the monument really is a representation of Mithras as a bull-killer and not a Victoria, it is very important for our knowledge of the Mithraists for whom their god also was a helper in the after-life.

AFRICA PROCONSULARIS

CARTHAGO

118

According to *AA* 1900, 63 a mosaic with lion and panther was found near an old Punian cemetery at Duimes. When this was being cleared away, they found a walled up compartment. Among debris from the Christian era, a number of statuettes of eastern deities was found, a.o. of Mithras. Further particulars about this are not known to us.

119

In the upper layer of the "tophet" at Carthago, under which a very old sanctuary was situated, a small Mithras-relief was found by Cintas in 1949 (Br. 0.50). (G. Ch. Picard in *AJA* LIV, 1950, 130; *Fasti* II 318f No. 2800).

120

Ph. Berger in *RHR* LXV, 1912, 1ff studying CIS, Ia Nos 260 and 261 reconstructs the following formula on an ex-voto dedicated to Tanit:

Meqim Elim Mithrahastarni.

The ultimate interpretation of the author Antistes Deus Mithras-Astronoe (Magna Mater-Astarte) remains difficult. According to the author's own statement, there is above all the historical difficulty, because the inscription dates back to the period before the fall of Carthage, whereas the propagation of the Mithras-cult in the Roman Empire is much later. But in this time "le dieu Mithra a pu être adoré dans les milieux sémitiques et en particulier à Carthage, comme tant d'autres divinités orientales, grâce aux identifications, souvent très artificielles, que les Phéniciens établissaient entre leurs divinités et celles des autres nations."

NUMIDIA

RUSICADE

121

In 1845 a Mithraeum was discovered at Rusicade on the slope of the hill Bou Vala, NW of Philippeville, in the garden of Nobelly. About its architecture we have only a few data by Fenech, *Histoire de Philippeville*, s.d. 33ff, who "à une portion de canal recélait ces statues." Of its interior we know more through the sculptures found in it, all of which is now in the Museum at Philippeville. According to an information of Dr. L. Leschi, to whose kind intercession we also owe our reproductions, a bust of Caracalla (211-217) has been found in the neighbourhood, which might be an important clue in dating the sanctuary.

122

Fragment of a white marble statue (H. 0.23 Br. 0.18).

Delamare, *Expl. Alg.*, Pl. 16 Nos 1; 2; Bertrand, *Cat. Philippeville*, I, 53; Carton in *BSAF* 1899, 327ff; MMM II 406 No. 284a with fig. 329; RRS II 477, 3; Gsell-Bertrand, *Mus. Philippeville*, 45 and Pl. VI, 1; L. Leschi, *Algérie antique*, Paris 1952, Pl. 68. See fig. 37.

Usual representation of Mithras tauroctone, who wears a belt with the sheath. The r.foot and the greatest parts of the god's arms are lost as well as the legs and the end of the bull's tail.

123-124

Two marble statues (H. 0.63; 0.60).

Delamare, *Expl. Alg.*, Pl. 16, Nos 3-8; Bertrand, *Cat. Philippeville*, I, 52f; MMM II No. 284c with figs. 331, 332; RRS II 479, 2; 3; Gsell-Bertrand, *Cat. Philippeville*, 46f and Pl. VI, 2; 3. See figs. 38-39.

Two torchbearers in Eastern attire; cross-legged.

Next to the feet of Cautes with upraised torch a lion is seen on a platform; on the other side a scorpion has been represented in relief. Lost: the r.arm and the upper part of the torch of Cautes; the fore-legs of the lion.

Next to the feet of Cautopates, pointing his torch downwards, a dolphin and a bird. The r.elbow is lost.

125

Statue in limestone (H. 0.54).

Delamare, *Expl. Alg.*, Pl. 16 Nos 9-10; Lajard, *Rech.*, 657; Bertrand, *Cat. Philippeville*, I, 54; MMM II No. 284b with fig. 330; Gsell-Bertrand, *Mus. Philippeville*, 47f and Pl. VI, 8. See fig. 40.

Deformed person with a lion's head, dressed in a tunic, over which a short mantle, covering his arms. He holds a key before his breast in both hands. Beside his feet on either side a pine-apple.

126

Marble statue.

RRS III 14, 6. Fig. 41.

Standing beside a tree-trunk a youthful figure with uncovered torso and long curly hair in which seven holes have been made for fastening rays. In the l.h. a *cornucopia*; in the lost r.h. probably a *patera*. Very likely the god Silvanus.

127

Marble block (H. 0.42).

Bertrand, *Cat. Philippeville*, 56f; Gsell-Bertrand, *Mus. Philippeville*, 50 and Pl. VI, 7. Fig. 42 from the cast in the Museum at Algiers.

Conical rock with a snake, winding itself around it, lifting its head up in the air. In the back a hole (diam. 0.10, deep 0.10) has been drilled.

128

Marble vase (H. 0.60, Diam. 0.50).

Delamare, *Expl. Alg.*, Pl. 16 Nos. 11-12; Bertrand, *Cat. Philippeville*; MMM

II No. 284d with figs. 333–4; Gsell-Bertrand, *Mus. Philippeville*, 49f and Pl. VI, 6. Fig. 42 from the cast in the Museum at Algiers.

Vase with rounded cover, in which one big and two smaller semi-circular holes. A snake winds itself around the vase, holding its head near the largest aperture to drink from it. The tail is lacking.

CIRTA

129

CIL VIII 6975; MMM II No. 530.

Speleum cum [sig]/nis et ornamen[tis] / Publilius Ceion[ius] / Caecina Albinu[s v(ir) c(larissimus)].

The sanctuary has not been found.

Publius Ceionius was a *praeses consularis* of Numidia under Valentinianus and Valens (364–367).

Referring to this inscription, E. Lévi in *Rec. Const.* XLV, 1911, 265ff observes that there are a great many of caves in the neighbourhood. The inscription was discovered “à la Kasbah” and he therefore thinks it acceptable, that a possible Mithraeum should have been in the immediate surroundings. There is a supposition, that it might have been a cave, called “des Pigeons”, “grotte située sous l’arsenal dans le versant nord du rocher, qui sert de base à la ville. M. J. Bosco a remarqué dans cette grotte de nombreuses intailles romaines et, d’autre part, a établi avec certitude qu’une ouverture le faisait communiquer avec la Kasbah.”

This supposition, however, has not yet been confirmed by finds as far as we know.

130

On a *clepsydra*, found on the site of the Mosque Sidi Biri Narze.

CIL VIII 6968; MMM II No. 538.

[Soli] / invicto / aug(usto) sac(rum) / C. Amul/lius Pul/tarius / v(otum) s(olvit).

THAMUGADI

131

Statuette in polychromatic marble (H. 0.20), found in 1904 near the ruins of the theatre. Museum Timgad.

Cumont in *BSAF* 1905, 255f with fig.; cf. *AA* 1906, 163; *AJA* 1906, 363; 1907, 115.

Standing person, cross-legged. He is dressed in a long sleeved tunica, a mantle and an *anaxyrides*. With his l.h. he supports the elbow of his r.arm, on which he rests his head. Head and feet are lost. Probably a torchbearer.

132

CIL VIII 2350; MMM No. 534. On an altar.

[S]oli aug(usto) / sacr(um) / Valerius / [C]arpus augus[ta]/lis conlato / [in] se a

sanctissi/[mo] ordine ho/[no]re ornamen/[tor]um decurio / [na]tus statuam / [qua]m
ex (sestertiis) IIII pro/[misi]t ex (sestertiis) V posu[it] [id]emque d(onum) d(edit)
d(icavit).

MASCULA

133

Inscription on an altar, found at Krenchela.

CIL VIII 2228; MMM II No. 525.

Kautopati / Eutyces Fe/licissimi / Aug(ustorum duorum) n(ostrorum) vernae
exac(toris) vik(arius) / s(ua) p(ecunia) p(osuit) et dedic(avit).

LAMBAESIS

134

Inscription on an altar, found in the Batna plain S.W. of the grave of Flavius Maximus.

CIL VIII 2675; MMM II No. 526.

Deo Sol(i) in/victo Mi/thrae / M. Aurel(ius) / M(arci) f(ilius) Sergi/s Carnu/nto
Sabi/nus prae/fect(us) leg(ionis) / III aug(ustae) p(iae) v(indicis) / Maximi/nianae
v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

235-238 A.D.

135

Inscription, found 100 meters south of the Roman camp.

CIL VIII 2676; MMM II No. 527.

Pro salute d(omini) n(ostri) A. . . . / invicti au(gusti) / Aurel(ius) Longinianus
c(enturio) leg(ionis) / III aug(ustae) princ(eps) leg(ionis) s(upra) s(criptae) / tem-
plum Invicti aere / suo a solo fecit.

The *templum invicti* is probably a Mithraeum.

136

Inscription, found in the Forum.

CIL VIII 18042; MMM II No. 528.

Invicto d[eo] Mithrae d[ed(it)?] P. Numidi[us] / Decen[s].

137

Inscription, found near the Capitol.

Ann. Ep. 1915, No. 28.

Deo in/victo / Mithrae / sac(rum) / M. Val(erius) Maximianus / leg(atus)
aug(usti) pr(o)pr(aetore).

During the reign of Commodus (180–192). M. Leglay in *Fasti* V, 1952, No 4505 mentions the find of a Mithraeum: „Non loin du Capitole de la ville antique au Sud-Est du temple d’Esculape, R. Godet a découvert un mithraeum qui mesure 16.40 sur 8.25 m. Orienté d’Ouest en Est, il a son entrée à l’Ouest; le côté Est comporte une niche. Le plan intérieur est le plan courant: une allée centrale large de plus de 3m., flanquée de deux banquettes

larges de 2 m. et hautes d'environ 0.80. On accède à la niche du fond par un escalier de 5 marches, accolé à la banquette Sud. Des traces d'enduit peint ont été relevées, et plusieurs inscriptions retrouvées du côté de la niche: dédicaces à Mithra par des personnages officiels." Cf. *Ann.Ep.* 1906, 374 No 8: [deo invicto] Mithrae/[pro salute C(aii)] Iuli Veri M[a/ximi aug(usti) no]bilissimi Caes(aris).

139

Ann. Ep. 1920 No. 36.

Invicto sac[ru]m / A. i *some unreadable lines follow*. [A. I]ul(ius) Pis[o]/nis leg(atus) leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae) pr(o)pr(aetore) / co(n)s(ul) desig(natus) s.m. trib(unus) / mil(itum) leg(ionis) II[I] [Aug(ustae)].

It is uncertain, if the inscription is dedicated to Mithras.

DIANA

140

Inscription on an altar, found at Aïn-Zana.

CIL VIII 4578; MMM II No. 529.

Iovi optimo / maximo Iuno/ni reginae Min/ervae sanctae / Soli Mithrae / Herculi Mar/ti Mercurio / genio loci di/is deabusque / omnibus M/arcus Aureli/us Decimus v(ir) p(erfectissimus) p(raeses) / p(rovinciae) N(umidia) ex principe pe/regrinorum / votum solvit.

M. Aurelius Decimus was a governor of Numidia in 283–284 A.D.

THUBURNICA

141

Two small altars, found at Sidi Adi bel-Kassem.

CIL VIII 14688–9; MMM II No. 531.

Soli / Q. Aradius Rufinus / co(n)s(ul) / votum.

Lunae / Q. Aradius Rufinus / co(n)s(ul) / votum.

Probably 304–321 A.D.

CHIDIBBIA (SLUGÎA)

142

CIL VIII 1329; MMM II No. 532.

[Deo] Soli invicto [sacrum] / [pro salute imp(eratoris)] Caes(aris) M. Aurelii Probi [pii inv(icti) Aug(usti)] / [totiusque divinae] domus eius municipium citel. . . 276–282 A.D.

UCUBI

143

Altar, found at the foot of the West-gate of the Roman town at Hr. Kaussât.

CIL VIII 15665; MMM II No. 533.

Deo Soli / Honori et / Virtuti / pro salute.

SIDI OKBA

144

Inscription on an altar, serving as a base for a column in the house of the sheik. Near Lambaesis.

CIL VIII 2483; MMM II No. 535.

Deo / invicto / M. M[e]ssius / Messor / praef(ectus) co(hortis) / pro sua sa/lute et suo/rum denuo / constituit.

ZARAI

145

Inscription on a stone, found at Zraya.

CIL VIII 4513; MMM II No. 536.

Soli / deo / aug(usto) / sac(rum).

THAGASTE (ARRHAS)

146

CIL VIII 5143; MMM II No. 537.

Soli invicto sacr(um) / pro salute et inco/lumitate perpetui / imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) L. Domi/tii Aureliani pii fel(icis) / aug(usti) p(onteficis) m(aximi) t(ribunicia) p(otestate) VI co(n)s(uli) / III p(atris) p(atriciae) proconsulis.

275 A.D.

SICCA

147

Stone block, walled up in an Arabic wall at Kef at a few yards distance from a Roman spring.

Poinssot in *BATH* 1911, 307.

L.H. 0.15.

Deo Soli.

MAURETANIA

SITIFIS

148

Relief (proportion unknown) found in 1861 making excavations in the cavalry barracks at Sétif. Kept in 1873 in the garden of the commander of the engineers at Sétif, nowadays in the Museum.

Pelletier, *Echo de Sétif*, 1861; Mac Carthy in *Rec. Const.*, 1863, 259 and 1871, 51; Héron de Villefosse in *RA* 1876, 139; more detailed bibliography in CIL VIII 8440; MMM II 405 No. 283 and fig. 328, L. Leschi, *Algérie antique*, Paris 1952, Pl. 156. Our fig. 43 kindly procured by Dr. L. Leschi, Director of the Antiquities in Algeria.

The primitive relief represents Mithras as killer of the bull, walking to the right. Underneath his flying cloak the god wears a scaled armour. Dog, snake and scorpion are present as well as the raven represented as a duck. In the upper corners the busts

of Luna (1) with crescent behind her shoulders and of Sol(r) in radiate crown. On a band, representing the cave, an inscription (No. 149). Traces of red painting were visible (Héron de Villefosse).

149

CIL VIII 8440; MMM II No. 539.

Deo invicto Mytre leg(ionis) II Herculiae fec(erunt) / co[ho]rs X et VII votum solverunt / l(ibentes) a(nimo).

The inscription is later than 285 A.D. as the second legion Herculis was founded by Diocletian.

AGER SITIFENSIS

150

Inscription on a marble plate, found at Bir Haddada.

CIL VIII 8713; MMM II No. 543.

[Imp(eratoribus) Caes(aribus) Fl]avio Val(erio) Constantino / et Val(erio) Liciniano Licinio invictis / semper aug(ustis) centenarium / Solis a solo construxit et dedicavit / Septimius Flavianus vir p(erfectissimus) p(raeses) p(rovinciae) Maur(etaniae) Sitif(ensis) / numini maiestatique eorum dicatissimus.

The same *praeses* has dedicated in 315/316 A.D. two other inscriptions at Constantine (CIL VIII 8476; 8477).

ICOSIUM

151

Inscription on an altar, found in 1861 at Algiers, Rue du vieux Palais.

CIL VIII 9256; MMM II No. 540.

Mithrae / Aphrodisius / Corneliorum / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) a(nimo).

AÏN-TEKRIA

152

Inscription on a marble plate.

MMM II No. 541.

D[e]o So[li] invicto Mitr[ae] / pr[o] salutem domini nostri / imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) L. [Aureli] Co[mm]odi / pii felicitis aug[us]ti / Aurelius... / cum suis v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) [m(erito)].

180–192 A.D.

EL-GAHARA

153

Inscription on an altar.

CIL VIII 18025; MMM II No. 542; cf. Dobo, *Inscr. Pann.*², No. 258.

[deo] Soli invicto / Mithrae / [Gel?]lius Florus / [vet(eranum?)] leg(ionis) III aug(ustae) / ... us Pastor / [si]g(nifer) al(ae) I Pa[nn(oniorum)] / [Pom]ponius Ma[xi]mus b(ene)f(iciarius) / [co](n)s(ulis) / [v(otum) s(olverunt)] l(ibentes) a(nimo).

MOZAÏAVILLE

154

CIL VIII 9281; MMM II No. 544.

[S]ol(i) inv(icto) / aram / posu/it pro salu/te F....

CAESAREA

155

Inscription on an altar found at Cherchel.

CIL VIII 9322; MMM II No. 545.

Deo invict[o] / s[a]c[r]um / .. cos.../ ... v.....

156

Inscription on a white marble plate.

CIL VIII 9331; MMM II No. 546.

Soli invicto / pro salute /

ZUCCABAR

157

Walled up in a wall of the mosque Sidi Abd-el-Kader at Affreville.

CIL VIII 9629; MMM II No. 547.

Soli / invic/to.

SAÏDA

158

Left part of a bas-relief (H. 1.22 Br. 1.00), found in 1882 at Timziouin near Saïda. Museum of Oran (Inv. No. 32).

De la Blanchère in *Archives de Mission* (S. 3) X, 1883, 68 and Pl.VIII, 5; Lapaine in *Bull. G. A. Oran* VI, 1886, Pl. 8; *Musées et Collections de l'Algérie III, Le Musée d'Oran* 1893, 36; MMM II 405 No. 282 and fig. 327. Fig. 44 kindly given by Dr. L. Leschi.

In a cavelike framing Mithras as a bull-killer. Above his flying cloak the raven. The god's r.arm and a part of his head have got lost; besides the fore-part of the bull, whose tail ends in three ears. The scorpion on the usual place; under it some windings of the snake are visible. Behind the bull Cautopates in Eastern attire, cross-legged. With both hands he points down the flaming torch.

VOLUBILIS

159

At Volubilis not far from the fountain, in which the aquaduct of Fertassa emptied itself, two inscriptions dedicated to Mithras have been found. L. Châtelain, who was the first to publish these monuments (*CRAI* 1919, 439ff) points also at the presence of bones. Very probable was here a Mithraeum.

160

Altar in white limestone.

Ann. ép. 1920, No. 47.

I(nvicto) d(eo) M(ithrae) / Aur(elius) Nectore/ga (centurio) vex(illariorum) Brit(tonum) / Volubili / agentium / l(ibens) l(aetus) merito.

161

Altar in freestone.

Pro salute et incolumitate imp(eratoris) Caesaris / L(ucii) Aeli(i) Aurel(ii) Commodi Pii invicti feli/cis Herculis Romani imperioque / eius Aur(elius) Necto-rega (centurio) vex(illariorum) Britt(onum) / Volubili agentium sua pecunia / invicto posuit et d(e)d(icavit).

191 A.D.

CASTELLUM TIDDITANUM

162

Inscription fixed into a wall beside a cave, hewn out in the rock. This cave lies about 40 meters South of the gate of Tiddis-Kheneg along the paved main-road.

RA (S. 6) XX, 1942-43 (*Rev. ép.*), 175 No. 87; Carcopino in *CRAI* 1942, 309;

Berthier in *Rev. Const.* LXV, 1942, 146; *Rev. Afr.* 1945, 16ff No. 3.

L.H. 0.05-0.03.

I(nvicto) M(ithrae) cultore/s de suo a s/olo / (a)edifi[c]arun(t).

Berthier believes, that the Mithraeum has been in the cave. The vault is almost dome-shaped and in front of the cave there is room enough for a possible adjacent temple.

Also a phallos was found here, represented on a piece of rock in the form of parallelepiped (H. 0.49). But this phallos has been represented in such way, that it bears a great resemblance to a cock: "il est en effet dressé sur pattes munies d'ergots". Besides, a bull's head has been found above which an *infula*, hewn out in stone (H. 0.77 Br. 0.51 D. 0.46).

The hypothesis of Berthier's is not without foundation. Yet it is our opinion, that from these two finds only it may not be concluded that the sanctuary was exactly on this spot.

Berthier, to whom we are very grateful for the information given, visited the excavations of Tiddis in 1945 and got the impression, that another Mithraeum came to light (*Rev. Afr.* 1945, 20): "En effet, d'une petite nef au milieu de laquelle se trouvaient quatre bases de colonnes, un escalier de sept marches conduit à une chambre rectangulaire surélevée et orientée au Nord. A quinze mètres de ce monument s'ouvre une grotte retaillée où l'on accède également par sept marches. Entre la grotte et la salle où se trouve l'escalier on voit une citerne."

I have not yet received any further details regarding this question.

ITALIA



SICILIA

SYRACUSAE

163

Fragment of greyish marble relief (H. 0.57 Br. 0.55 D. 0.18), found at Syracuse at the demolition of Spanish fortifications. Syracuse, Arch. Museum (Inv. No. 8478).

MMM II 270 No. 121 and fig. 114; Libertini, *Mus. Sic.*, 158 No. 8478; Pace, *Sic. Ant.*, III, 675; fig. 45 through the intercession of the Museum.

Mithras as a bullkiller. Of the god the trunk only has been preserved; of the bull the fore-part has got lost. On the belly of the animal the point of a snake's tongue is visible.

Pace *l.c.* thinks to find further traces of the Mithras-cult at Syracuse in excavations, which Giovanni Pugliese should have examined near the Corso Umberto. Here a Mithras-sanctuary is said to have come to light.

PANORMUS(?)

164

Frame-work relief in white marble (H. 0.67 Br. 0.73 D. 0.15). The assumed find-place Panormus is uncertain, as the relief (as well as No. 165) was part of the Coll. Astuto di Noto, which has been stored partly in Sicilia, partly at Rome. Palermo, Mus. Nazionale (Inv. No. 751).

Salinas, *Mus. Pal.*, 13; MMM II 269 No. 119 with fig. 112; RRS II 476, 2; Pace, *Sic. Ant.*, III 675 n. 5; fig. 46 through the kind intercession of the Direction of the Museum.

In the middle Mithras killing the bull with averted face. The dog licks the blood; the scorpion at the genitalia; the snake creeping over the ground. Remarkable is the lion's head, represented in front of the snake's head. On either side a torchbearer, one of which is cross-legged. Torches, which they held in their l.h., lost; restored their r.arms; yet the sword of Cautopates seems to be genuine. On the surrounding cave entrance the heads of Sol and Luna; between them the raven. Restorations: Mithras' dagger and the head of Cautes.

165-166

Two white marble statues (H. 0.71 and 0.69). Palermo, Mus. Naz. (Inv. Nos 729/730).

MMM II 270 No. 120 and fig. III/3; MM, Pl. II, 4; Pace, *Sic. Ant.*, III, 675.

The two torchbearers in tunic, long hanging cloak and Phrygian cap. They are holding their torches with both hands. Cross-legged.

THERMAE HIMERAEAE

167

Inscription from Termini.

CIL X 7337; MMM II No. 220.

Soli / invicto / conserva/tori imp(eratoris) / Antonini / [aug(usti)].

CICILIANO

168

D. Facenna in *NSc* (S. 8) II, 1950, 306 and fig. 9 gives a preliminary description of an Aion, found in Ciciliano: "Lamina aurea (H. 0.11 Br. 0.06 w. 13 gr.), sottilissima. Vi è rappresentata, racchiusa in un ovale e lavorata a sbalzo con ritocchi a bulino, una figura maschile nuda, stante, avvolta nelle spire di un serpente che poggia la testa sul petto dell' uomo. Questi ha in mano degli attributi: nella destra una chiave, nella sinistra un oggetto non chiaramente identificabile. Gli elementi che vi appaiono, portano a riconoscere nella figura un tipo di Kronos. Secondo secolo dopo C." Around it the following letters:

ABAANAΘANAΛBA IΑΩ

AKPAMAXAMAP I AΔΩNAEI

Ai lati delle gambe: a destra M, sotto ΣΑ;

a sinistra su tre linee ΣΙ / ΕΑ / Μ.

In alto a sinistra, al di fuori dell' ovale, sono incise alcune lettere προκ, a cui seguono altre quattro o cinque di non precisa identificazione."

BRUTTIUM

GERACE MARINO

169

Head in limestone (H. 0.235); found in the bed of the Millicri river in 1926. Museo Civico at Locri.

Ferri in *NSc* 1926, 340 with fig. 2.

Head with solemn expression. On the Phrygian cap on either side traces of red-paint. Possibly a head of Mithras.

LUCANIA

GRUMENTUM

170

Altar, found at Saponara "in hortis Danii".

CIL X 204; MMM II No. 151.

Soli invicto / Mythrae T. Fl(avius) / Saturninus / evoc(atus) Aug(ustorum) n(ostrorum).

APULIA

VENUSIA

171

Kaibel, *ISI* 688; MMM II No. 150.

Ἡλίω / Μίθρα / ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας / Βρι[ττ]ίου Πραί/σεντος Σαγάρης οἰκο/νόμος

Sagaris: the same person dedicates an altar to *Mercurius invictus* (CIL IX 425). He does it as an *actor* of *Praesens*.

CAMPANIA

CAPREAE

172

White marble relief (H.O. 77 Br. 0.99 D. 0.06). Naples, Museo Nazionale (Inv. No. 6733). According to the publication of Romanelli, a certain Giraldis is said (p. 91) to have found it at a farmer. The opinion, that the relief would have been found on Capri in the cave of Matromania (l), is based on an assertion of Rezzonico (p. 60), who saw it in 1794 in St. Constanzo's Chapel. In 1816 it was in the Museo Borbonico already, but the additional sketch of the publisher is No. 408.

Isola di Capri, manoscritti del Conte della Torre Rezzonico . . . pubblicati dall' Abate Domenico Romanelli, Napoli 1816, 60; *Museo Borbonico*, XIII, 22; Lajard, *Intr.*, Pl. XCVII, 2; MMM II 253 No. 95 and fig. 87; Ruesch, *Guide Nap.*, No. 473; RRR III 77 No. 2; Roscher, *Myth. Lex.*, II, 2 col. 3068; Zadoks-Josephus Jitta, *Ant. Cultuur*, 168, 2. Alinari No. 34306, see fig. 47.

Mithras killing the bull, whose tail ends in ears. The god looks at the raven, which is seated on a rock-stone behind him. The dog, standing with its hind-legs on a piece of stone, has been sprung up against the bull; the snake holds its head near the wound, the scorpion at the testicles. On either side Cautes(r) and Cautopates (l), not cross-legged. In the upper corners the busts of Luna with crescent on her front and of Sol with radiate crown around the curled hair. One of the seven rays is shooting out in the direction of Mithras.

(1) It is very doubtful, that the relief should have been found in the cave of Matromania or in its immediate neighbourhood. According to Maiuri in *Boll. Arte* (S.III) XXV, 1931, 150 this cave was not used as a Mithraeum, but as a Nymphaeum. Cf. Technau in *JdI* 1932, 306 (personal note of Cumont).

NEAPOLIS(?)

173

Greyish marble relief (H. 0.84 Br. 0.99 D. 0.07), probably from Naples. Bought by Cumont in 1896 at Rome and presented to the Musée de Cinquenaire at Brussels in 1912 (Inv. No. 58/A 1940).

MMM II 486 No. 94bis and fig. 419; Cumont, *Cat. Cinq.*, 74 No. 58 with fig. on which the left upper corner has been supplied. Fig. 48 kindly procured by the Direction.

The relief, as it is proved by the fastening holes, was fixed into a wall. Usual representation of Mithras as a bullkiller. R.h. and dagger lost. The tail of the animal ends in three ears. The raven on the rock; dog (with necklace) and snake with their heads near the wound; the scorpion at the testicles. Torchbearers are missing. In the r. upper corner the bust of Luna with crescent on her front; the l. corner with Sol has been restored. An irregular working of the relief's background suggests the vault of a cave.

PAUSILYPUM

174

White marble relief (H. 1.06 Br. 1.00 D. 0.12). „Neapoli, apud illustrissimum ducem Calabriae, advectum ex Pausilippo” (Iucundus, end 15th cent.) or, accord-

ing to Capacius, „in media crypta Pausilypana dum instauretur fuisse inventum dictitant”. Subsequently in St. Antonio’s Church, then Museum Capodimonti, now Naples, Museo Nazionale (Inv. No. 6764).

Ms Iucundus f. 118 and Augustinus, *cod.* 3492 f. 36; *cod.* 3528 f. 39; Pignorius, *Act. Cartar.*, 294 (fig.); Summonte, *Hist. Nap.*, I, 91 (fig.); Capacius, *Hist. Neap.*, I, 168f with fig.; Zoega, *Abh.*, 153 No. 35; Stark, *Zwei Mithräen*, 36 n. 74; MMM II 249f and 485f No. 93 with fig. 85. Fig. 49 through the kind intercession of Prof. A. Maiuri.

Mithras kills the bull, whose tail ends in four ears. The god is dressed in tunica, flying cloak and *anaxyrides*. Round his breast an embroidered girdle. He looks at Sol. The snake with its head near the wound; a deformed small dog; the scorpion on the usual place; the raven on a rock behind the god. On either side Cautes (l) and Cautopates (r), cross-legged. In the upper corners, above a rocky part, the dressed bust of Sol (l) in a crown of seven rays and the bust of Luna (r) in diadem and crescent. On the lower border an inscription No. 175.

175

CIL X 1479; MMM II No. 148.

L.H. 0.035.

Omnipotenti Deo Mithrae Appius / Claudius Tarronius Dexter v(ir) c(larissimus) dicat.

176

Relief formerly near Sta. Annunziata’s at Naples; present owner unknown.

Carpaccio, *l.c.*; Zoega, *Abh.*, 151 No. 36; MMM II 250 No. 94.

According to Carpaccio it only differs from the preceding monument “quod inscriptione caret”.

According to Mazocchi, *Spicil. bibl.*, 1766, II, 86 (quoted by Cumont): “Extat Napoli apud Ioann. Carafam, Noiae ducem, ingens Mithrae anaglyphum”, with which probably the same monument is meant.

PUTEOLI

177

Marmore gracili et erecto.

CIL X 1591; MMM II No. 202.

Soli / invicto / gen(io) col(oniae) Cl(audius) Aurel(ius) / Rufinus / cum coniuge et / filio / d(onum) d(edit).

AENARIA INS.

178

Limestone, found on the island of Ischia.

Kaibel, *ISI* 891; MMM II No. 149.

Ἡλίω / Μίθρα / ἀνικήτω.

CAPUA

179

A. de Franciscis in *Boll. d'Arte* 1950, 153f with fig. 1 publishes a head (H. 0.68) in Phrygian cap. It has a sorrow expression. It served as a *protome* in the Amphitheatre and is interpreted by the author as a head of Mithras.

180

Mithraeum, excavated in 1922 in the Vico Caserma near the old Capitolium at S. Maria Capua Vetere.

Minto in *NSc* (S. V) XXI, 1924, 353ff; Cumont in *CRAI* 1924, 133ff, cf. *RA* (S. 5) XX, 1924, 185f; Campanile in *Boll. Arte* IV, 1924, 284; Lehmann-Hartleben in *AA* 1926, 126f; Maciariello, *Capua*, Roma 1939. See fig. 50. The photographs procured by Prof. Dr. A. Maiuri. Plan fig. 51 from Minto.

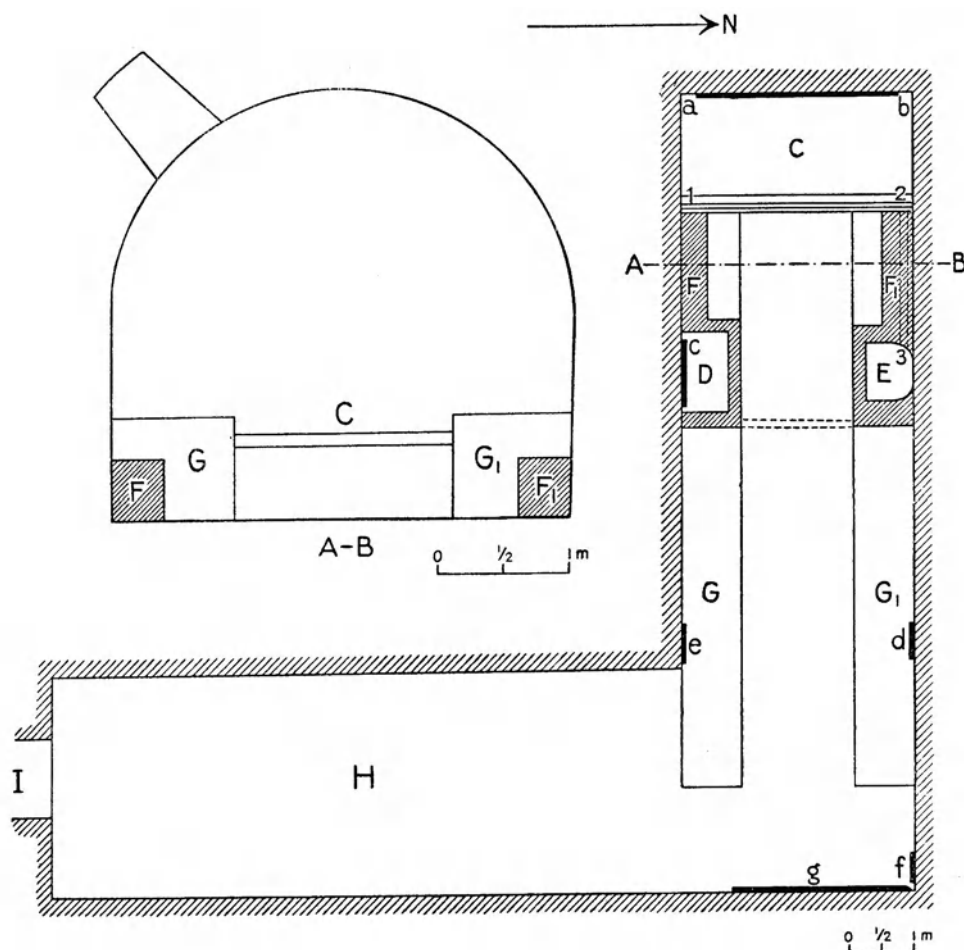


Fig. 51.

The entrance (*I*) opens on a criptoporticus (*H*), which served as a *vestibulum* and has about the same proportions as the adjacent cultroom (H. 3.22 L. 12.18 Br. 3. 50).

On either side of the central aisle (Br. 1.54), which was covered with marble, are the benches. A distinction, however, has to be made between the original benches (*FF*) of cement with red stucco (H. 0.45 L. 1.40 Br. 0.37) and the later benches (*GG*), made up out of various materials and considerably larger (H. 0.85 L. 8.35 Br. 0.90).

In the southern bench a rectangular cement water-basin (*D*) was made (L. 1.28 Br. 0.67 D. 0.55), whereas in the other there is a well (*E*) with draining-pipes. Near these basins there is a small rectangular niche (H. 0.32 D. 0.32) in the front of either bench.

At the end of the path, where small steps lead to the benches, there is a third bench (*C*) (H. 0.68 Br. 3.50 D. 1.57) covering the entire breadth of the cult-room and sloping towards the western wall. A small canal (Br. 0.09 D. 0.08) in front of this bench, disappears into it at the northern wall and is connected with the well *E*.

In the vault there are four oblong holes surrounded by a red band. Both side-walls and vault are covered with stucco paintings. The vault is decorated with stars with six points, painted in red and green on a yellow background. The background of the side walls, which are subdivided into several parts by horizontal and vertical red bands, is also yellow. On the walls were graffiti, only one of which on the left of *C*, is readable: *Modum*.

181

Fresco, painted on the West wall.

Minto, *l.c.*, 359ff and Pl. XVII; *AA* 1926, fig. 21; Saxl, 74; Reitzenstein in *ARW* 1930, 42ff and fig. 10; Campanile, *l.c.* fig. 2. See fig. 52.

In a brown cave-vault Mithras kills the white bull, whose tail ends in three golden-yellow ears. The god is dressed in red eastern attire with a green piping decorated with yellow ornaments. The sheath at his side and the shoes are yellow. On his head with dark curly hair, the front of which is damaged (1), he wears a red Phrygian cap with a green piping similar to those on the other garments. The inside of the flying cloak is adorned with seven stars on an azure firmament.

The raven, represented as a dove, is perched on the rocky ledge. A brown dog leaps against the bull in order to lick the blood from the wound; a big greenish snake is creeping over the ground and turns its head in the same direction; a yellow scorpion is at the *genitalia*.

On either side a torchbearer with a red Phrygian cap, yellow *anaxyrides* and red foot-wear. In the l.h. a bow; in the r.h. a torch. Not cross-legged. Cautes on the l.side has a star on his cap and he wears underneath his red cloak a yellow chiton trimmed at the bottom with meandering hem. Cautopates (r), however, is dressed in a greyish chiton with a similar green meandering hem, but moreover on his breast a green *tabula*-ornament.

In the corners of the cave-vault two heads with greenish hair: a bearded head with two red horns on the front (l) and a female head (r), the r. eye of which is damaged (Oceanus and Terra).

On the azure vault, the bust of Sol, with in his r.h. a gilded whip or sceptre, and around his shoulders a dark red cape. Around his reddish hair a radiate crown with seven rays, one of which darts out towards Mithras. On the other side (r) the head of Luna in a crescent and with a diadem in the brown hair.

(1) It might be suspected that the destruction of Mithras' face was caused on purpose by his antagonists. According to a custodian however, they had been inflicted by playing children. (31.1.1947).

182

Fresco (H. 1.08 Br. 1.00) on the North wall above the beginning of the podium.

Minto, 364f and fig. 7. See fig. 53.

Between two laurels, the tops of which meet in the shape of an arch above his head, Cautes is standing in his usual attitude and dress (red with green). In his upraised r.h. he holds a torch above a fire-altar; with the other hand he points down a bundle of twigs. Underneath this bundle a crowing cock is visible, painted in a shade of green, with a red crest.

183

Fresco (H. 1.08 Br. 0.95) on the South wall above the beginning of the podium.

Minto, *l.c.*, fig. 8; Campanile, *l.c.*, fig. 4. See fig. 54.

Representation of Cautopates between two laurels and in Eastern attire. He points down his torch above a burning altar; in the upraised l.h. a bundle of twigs. Cross-legged.

184

Fresco on the East wall.

Minto, 363f and fig. 6; Campanile, fig. 3. See fig. 55.

In an arch-shaped frame the representation of Luna, seated in a *biga*. She is dressed in a green tunica, leaving the brownish back uncovered. Of the horses, which are driven with the aid of whip and reins, the darkish one with drooping head is moving already, whereas the grey horse, turning its head towards the goddess, seems to be waiting for a signal.

185

Fresco (H. 0.70) in the corner of the North wall near the preceding No.

Minto, 366.

Owing to the weathered painting the representation is hardly distinguishable. It could be the figure of Aion(?) with outspread green wings pointing downwards. We could not discover a single trace of a snake which should twist itself round his body (Minto).

186

White marble relief (H. 0.32 Br. 0.39) in a recess in the Southern wall above the water-basin of the podium.

Reitzenstein in *ARW* 1930, 42ff and fig. 15; Minto, 367 and fig. 9. See fig. 56.

The nude winged child Amor seizes the arm of the bigger Psyche, also winged, to lead her away in the light of his torch. The girl lifts a part of her diaphanous dress. The whole is set in a red frame.

On the front of the more recent benches several scenes have been represented, separated by red vertical bands. They refer to the initiation into the mysteries.

On the r. b e n c h (N. side) from the entrance to the niche successively:

187

Minto, 368 and fig. 10. See fig. 57.

The *mystagogus* (H. 0.40) dressed in a short white tunica with red stripes, leads a blindfolded *myste*. The latter is painted red, the bandage white.

188

Minto, 369 and fig. 11; Leipoldt, fig. 43; *CAH*, Plates V 164a. See fig. 58.

Before the standing *mystagogus*, dressed in white tunica with red stripes, the *myste* kneels down with folded hands. Here he is blindfolded as well, with a white bandage. Behind him a priest approaches dressed in a red mantle and Phrygian cap; he seems to hold a sword or staff in his hands.

189

A person in red attire. Kneeling(?). Badly damaged.

190

Minto, fig. 12.

Standing person in a small cloak. Before him two other persons, one of whom comes walking up to him with a slightly bowed figure.

191

Minto, 370 and fig. 13; Turchi, *RR*, Tav. XXIV, 2. See fig. 59.

The nude *myste*, red painted, with his hands tied behind his back, kneels down on one knee. A sword by his side. The figure of the *mystagogus* behind him, dressed in white, is indistinct. He lays his hand on the head of the *myste*. Further down the outlines of a third person.

192

Two persons standing behind each other. The first is dressed in a white attire with red stripes and holds his hands together, stretched out before him. Further down a head, looking down and to the left another head.

On the l. b e n c h (S. side) from the entrance:

193

Minto, fig. 16; Leipoldt, fig. 45; *CAH*, Plates V 164. See fig. 60.

Between two persons walking up to him with outstretched hands, the *myste* lies prostrate on the ground. On his back coils (of a snake?) are visible.

194

Minto, fig. 15; Leipoldt, fig. 44. See fig. 61.

The *mystagogus*, dressed in a white tunica with red stripes, stands with one foot on the calves of the kneeling *myste*, who holds his hands folded under his chin. Another person, dressed in a red cloak, walking up to him, holds in hand a red stick (sword?) towards a round object (loaf?), which lies on the ground in front of the *myste*.

195

Minto, fig. 14.

The *mystagogus*, dressed in a white tunica, presses down the shoulders of the kneeling *myste* so that he seems to fall forward. A third person, dressed in red attire and Phrygian cap, is walking up to him with outstretched hands.

196

The next two scenes have become indistinguishable.

197

Of two persons only the heads and parts of the white tunica are visible.

The following smaller finds were discovered:

198

In the middle of the sanctuary:

- a) Fragm. of a terracotta *antefix* (0.15 : 0.31) with a group of Centaurs in relief.
- b) Cylindrical draining-pipe in terracotta (L. 0.49 diam. 0.24).
- c) Terracotta basin (H. 0.215) with three apertures for pipes.
- d) Fragm. of a marble plate (0.29 : 0.33) with ornaments in relief. Furthermore two marble bases (H. 0.12 and 0.30) and a third one in travertine (H. 0.30). Finally a small marble column with flutes (H. 0.17).
- e) A great number of small lamps (diam. 0.07–0.12), one of which shows a primitive head of Sol in radiate crown (*cf.* Minto, fig. 1). Another one has been adorned with rosettes and has an inscription *MEN* in the middle.
- f) Three coins of M. Aurelius, Constantius Chlorus and Constantine the Great.

199

Near the crossing of the *criptoporticus*:

- a) Fragments of a marble plate with ornaments in relief (H. 0.13) and fragments with inscr.: *MUN.F.*
- b) Fragments of a base in tuff, the upper part ending in a small column, covered with stucco.
- c) Many red-coloured lamps and a terracotta amphora (H. 0.41).
- d) Occasional remnants of animal bones.

CALES

200

Terracotta relief (H. 0.36 Br. 0.32 D. 0.02), found at Calvi (Cales). Naples, Mus. Naz. (Inv. No. 6854).

MMM II 249 No. 91 with fig. 82 (see our fig. 62).

Within a decorated frame the representation of Mithras as a bullkiller. The god, dressed in Eastern attire, is standing beside the bull and raises his r.h. in order to kill it with the dagger. None of the usual accompanying animals.

As a counterpart of this relief served a terracotta tablet with a representation of Hercules as killer of the Arcadian deer.

201

Terracotta tablet (H. 0.25), found at Calvi, now at Berlin, Antiquarium (Inv. No. 8492).

MMM II 249 No. 92 with fig. 84; Saxl, fig. 39 (see fig. 63).

Mithras as a bullkiller. The god is dressed in a flying shouldercape only. Mithras' head is a restoration.

LATIUM

FORMIAE

202

Two marble busts (H. 0.96), found at Formiae and obtained in 1902 by the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek at Copenhagen (Inv. Nos 1905/6) from the Villa Borghese collection.

Ny Carlsb. Glypt. Ant. Kunstv., Pl. IX, 122-3; Arndt-Amelung, *Einzelaufn.* 3874-77; Poulsen, *Kat. N. C. Glypt.*, 105 Nos 122-3.

Bust of youthful person with Phrygian cap on the long curly hair. The tunica is fastened over the r. shoulder with a round brooch. Some small restorations in the cap, eyebrows, nose and lips.

These busts are usually considered to be representations of Attis, but as Franz Cumont properly observed they are most probably the busts of two torchbearers.

AESERNIA

203

"Aeserniae in vico S. Francisci in aedibus Ianuarii de Lellis".

CIL IX 2632; MMM II No. 155.

Invicto / deo / Verus / antistes / v(otum) s(olvit).

ANTIUM

204

Marble relief (Br. 1.50), found at Porto d'Anzio in 1699. Lost.

Turre, *Mon. Vet. Antii*, 157f with fig.; Montfaucon, *Ant. Expl.* I (2) 379 and Pl. CCXVI, 2; Eichhorn, *De deo Sole*, fig. 3; N. Müller, *Mithras*, fig. 4; Seel, 255 fig. *a* (See fig. 64); de Hammer, *Mithriaca*, No. 5; MMM II 247 No. 86 and fig. 79.

The relief, which is only known to us as an engraving, shows Mithras as a bull-killer in the usual attitude and dress. Dog, serpent and scorpion are present. The god looks back at two fighting ravens behind him. On either side in a short tunica only, the torchbearers Cautes (r) and Cautopates (l). Cross-legged. Beside the latter a small vessel on the ground. In the left upper corner the bust of Sol with radiate crown around his curly head. The r. upper corner got lost. Mithras' r.h. is broken off.

205

Statue of penthelic marble (H. 1.12 with base) found at Antium. Taken to Oxford in 1755 by Dowager Countess of Pomfret. Now at the Ashmolean Museum (Oldfield coll.).

Chandler, *Marm. Ox.*, 20; Michaelis, *Anc. Marb.*, No. 48. We received our fig. 65 from Dr. D. B. Harden, Keeper of the Museum.

Standing torchbearer in Eastern attire. Cross-legged; feet-wear; a belt around his chest. The head and r.h. with upraised torch are broken off. The base, r. foot and l.h. are modern restorations. Probably 2nd cent. A.D.

206

Inscription from Antium, found at San Donato in 1884.

Eph. Ep. VIII, 648; MMM II No. 147.

Inter avos proavosque tuos sanctumque parentem

Virtutem meritis et honoribus emicuisti,

Ornamentum ingens generis magnique senatus.

Sed raptus propere liquisti, sancte Kameni,

Aeternos fletus obiens iuvenalibus annis.

Te dulcis coniunx lacrimis noctesque diesque

Cum parvis deflet natis, solacia vitae

Amisisse dolens casto viduata cubili;

Quae tamen extremum munus, solacia luctus,

Omnibus obsequiis ornat decoratque sepulcrum.

Alfenio Ceionio Iuliano Kamenio v(iro) c(larissimo) quaestori candidato /

pretori triumphali, VII viro epulorum, patri sacrorum summi / invicti Mitre, hierofante Aecatae, archibucolo dei Liberi, XV viro / s(acris) f(aciundis), tauro-boliato deum Matris, pontifici maiori, consulari / Numidia et vicario Africae qui vixit annos XLII m(enses) VI d(ies) XIII. / Rec(essit) II nonas septembr(es) d(omino) n(ostro) Archadio et Fl(avio) Bautone v(iro) c(larissimo) cons(ulibus).

385 A.D.

Kamenius is also stated in two inscriptions from Rome (See our Nos 515; 516), but there he is still *magister et pater sacrorum*, whereas at his death he bears the grade of *pater patrum*. *Sancte*: No. 486.

LANUVIUM

207

Plate of red-ware (diam. 0.21), found at Civit  Lavinia together with other similar fragments. Rome, Museo Nazionale.

C. L. Visconti in *BCM* I, 1872-3 (Roma 1874), 117ff and Taf. III, 2,3; *MMM* II 248 No. 89 and fig. 80; *DS. Dict. Ant.* 1953 fig. 5094; Loeschcke, *Tr. H.* 327f and fig. 16. Fig. 66 by courtesy of Dr. Enrico Paribeni.

The inside of the plate shows two opposite representations. Mithras in richly embroidered garments, leans against the bull and kills it with his dagger. The accompanying animals are lacking.

On the other side Mithras in the same attire bears the bull on his shoulders. Behind him a dog with collar.

VELITRAE

208

White marble statue (H. 0.90 Br. 0.77). The exact find-spot is unknown. The monument was at first at Velletri in the Palazzo Ginetti, later at Vescovali's the antiquarian, then in the Coll. of Marchese Campana. Nowadays at Paris, Louvre (Inv. No. 1026). It is quite possible, that the relief originally comes from Velletri.

Lajard, *Intr.*, Pl. CI, 4; Zoega, *Abh.*, 148 No. 9; Froehner, *Sculpt.*, No. 572; *MMM* II 248 No. 90 with fig. 81; *RRS* II 476, 4. Our fig. 67 from a photograph willingly procured to us by Dr. P. Devambez, Keeper of the Louvre.

Mithras, in usual attire and attitude, as a bullkiller. Dog, serpent and scorpion are present on the usual places. Of the raven only a part of its legs are visible on Mithras' flying cloak. The two arms of the god are broken off; his r. leg and the bull's tail have been restored. On the base the inscription No. 209.

209

CIL X 6559; *MMM* II No. 146.

Q(uintus) Fulvius Zoticus d(onum) d(edit) d(icavit).

LABICUM

210

Fragment of a relief (H. 0.63), found at Labicum "nella vigna di Luigi Dominicis, situata fra Colonna e la strada corriera" in the ruins of an Roman villa. Present owner unknown.

Helbig in *Bull. Ist.* 1864, 92; cf. *BCM* I, 1872, 275; *MMM* II 247 No. 87.

Right part of a representation of Mithras as a bullkiller. Preserved the god, the front part of the bull; the torchbearer with upraised torch (Cautes) and the bust of Luna.

Together with this monument fragments were found of smoothed columns with flutes. Moreover a round basin (diam. 0.59). These remnants may point to the existence of a sanctuary at Labicum.

PRAENESTE

211

Fragment of white marble statue (H. 0.29 Br. 0.39). Was in the 18th cent. at Palestrina: "Vidi nuper Praeneste in aedibus principis Barberiniorum". (*Mon. Matth.*) Nowadays in the garden of the Palazzo Barberini at Palestrina.

Monumenta Mattheiana III, 1778; 4, Zoega, *Abh.*, 148 No. 8b; *MMM* II 247 No. 88.

The usual representation of Mithras tauroktonos with the dog, serpent and scorpion. Of the god the upper part of the body from the belt and his r. leg, of the bull the head, of the dog the upper part are missing. The extremities of the base are broken off.

TIBUR

212

Fragment of a relief. Barbault, *Rec. Mon.*, 4 who publishes an engraving of it among the monuments from Tivoli. So it may originate from this town. Lost.

MMM II 409 No. 288.

Mithras as a bullkiller in a grotto. Dog, serpent and scorpion are present. The raven is seated on the rocks of the cave near the face of the god. On either side a torchbearer with upraised torch. The l. torchbearer picks the ears sprouting from the bull's tail. The handle of Mithras' dagger consists of two eagle's heads. In the upper corner Sol in a *quadriga* and in front of it two tree-trunks, the foliage of which is not visible.

As Cumont rightly observed, the engraving cannot be accurate. In making it, Barbault has been guided by the restored relief of the Capitole (No. 415).

213

Fragmenta duo tabulae marmoreae. Fortasse originis urbanae.

CIL XIV 3568; *MMM* II No. 143.

i.... / So[li...] invicto / [Mi]thrae salu[tari?] .. [sacer]do[t]io auc[tus.. / ..]
cit... pius iii... / .. et L. Cattius C... / .. sacerdos v....

[*sacer*]dotio auctus: Mommsen.

214

Tabula marmorea. In agro Tiburtino, prope villam Hadrianam.

CIL XIV 3567; MMM II No. 144.

Soli invicto Mithrae / sicuti ipse se in visu / iussit refici / Victorinus Caes(aris)
n(ostri) / verna dispensator / numini praesenti suis inpendis reficiendum / curavit
dedicavitque. / Nama cunctis.

In the l. lower corner:

[A]ntistitae(*sic*) / ... lio Magno.

As Cumont remarked the name of *Victorinus* is so common that it is not justifiable to place this inscription at the end of the second century A.D. on the analogy of No. 527. (Chabouillet in *RA* I, 1866, 322).

AGER ALBANUS

215

CIL XIV 2256; MMM II No. 145.

Soli / pro salute et reditu et victo[ria] / / totiusque domus divinae /
II et Tato pater s[acrorum] / ... concedent[e].

OSTIA

216

A Mithraeum, built in the Casa di Diana (*Reg. I, Is. III, 3*). The house is early Antonine (\pm 140 A.D.).

G. Calza in *NSc* (S. 5) XII, 1915, 324ff and fig.; Becatti, *Mitrei Ostia*, 9ff with fig. 1 and Pl. I. See fig. 68.

The sanctuary has been constructed in two rooms, situated in the N. E. corner of the house. These rooms have cross-vaults and the floors were originally covered with mosaic. From room *A* one entered room *B* through a door on the right, while, moreover, in the middle of the partition-wall a window had been made. It is not clear to what purpose the inhabitants of the house had used these rooms, but when they were altered for a Mithraeum, many changes were introduced to meet the stereotyped division into central aisle and side-benches. The window in the partition wall was constructed into a passage (Br. 1.16) and the former door could now be used to pass from the r. bench of room *A* to that of room *B*. The l. bench however, was divided in two by a remnant of the wall.

In room *A* (L. 3.74 Br. 6.10) in the central aisle (Br. 1.60) there was a small round basin *a* (D. 0.15 diam. 0.33) to the right of the entrance (Br. 1.05). The benches in this room are no longer there, but one can see that the r. bench was longer and

wider (L. 3.74 Br. 2.30) than the l. bench (L. 2.45 Br. 1.90). They consisted mainly of brick and sand and were ascended by one step; they slope towards the walls. In room *B* (L. 3.96 Br. 5.81) the central aisle is larger (Br. 2.55) and here the benches (H. 0.50–0.54 Br. 1.60–1.66) are preserved. There is a small step (Br. 0.40) to ascend them. The central aisle leads towards a raised platform *C* (H. 1.45 Br. 1.68 D. 0.88), which is covered with white stucco and is ascended on the righthand side by three steps. The base supports a niche with on either side a bracket for a small column. The cult-image is lost. To the arch of the niche pieces of pumice were attached in order to give the impression of a grotto (traces of a blue colour).

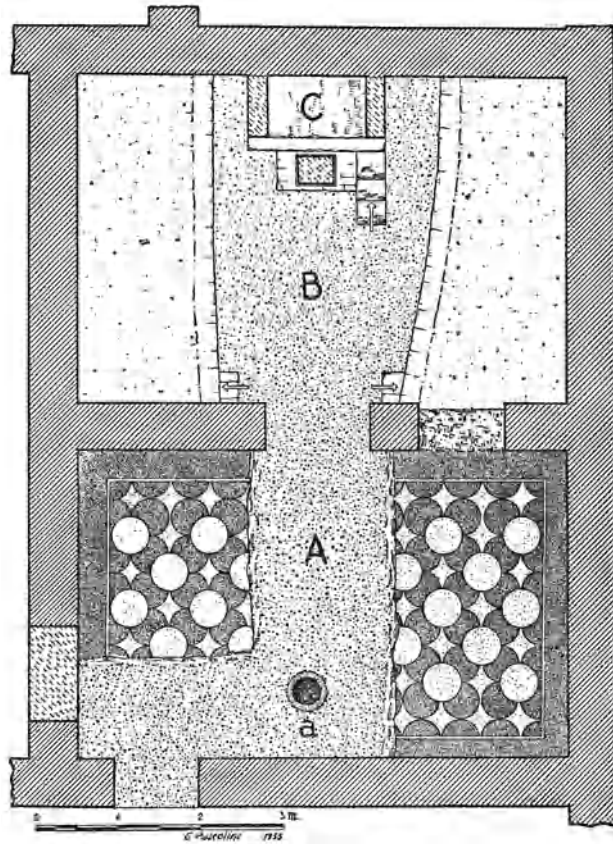


Fig. 68.

217

In the base of the niche two *hermae* had been walled in. One of these represents a bearded Bacchus, crowned with vine-tendrils and with *vittae* on his shoulders; the other figure shows a woman, whose head is also crowned with vine-tendrils.

218

Graffito scratched in the cult-niche. The reading is not certain:

	IIE	M
ULAS		M*V
BABENUS		SMAXS
BECTION		BINU XII
PROCLUS		BINU *II
ERMES		DUX *III
FORTUNIU		ADA NDA
MAXIMUS		BINU *II

The first part apparently contains a number of proper names, the greater part of which are not Roman. The second part is inexplicable unless one accepts that BINU can be identified with *vinum*, in which case the numbers may indicate measures or cost (*cf.* Dura-Europos Nos. 64; 65).

219

Marble altar (H. 0.78 Br. 0.35 D. 0.44), standing before the cult-niche.

Calza, *o.c.*, 331; Becatti in *BCR* LXVII, 1939, 38 n. 10; *BCR* LXX, 1942, 120f with fig.

The altar has a hole in the middle, which pierces the marble completely. At the front the opening is surrounded by a wreath of oak-leaves with flying ribbons. An inscription over it (No. 220).

220

CIL XIV 4310.

M. Lollianus / Callinicus pater / aram deo / do(num) de(dit).

Callinicus: compare Nos. 222; 223.

The altar, as an inscription (CIL XIV 4280) proves, was originally dedicated to Hercules. From a thorough investigation by G. Becatti it has become clear, that the Mithraists after changing it into a Mithras-altar, have turned it upside down with the inscription of Hercules against the wall of the cult-niche. This they did, because the upper part of the altar was broken off and had been lost. This is an established fact, as that part was found back in 1940. The wreath of oak-leaves already was on the altar, but Callinicus had the two ribbons added and at the same time the altar was pierced, which caused some damage to the Hercules-inscription.

221

Fragment of an marble architrave (H. 0.19 Br. 0.67) found in 1899 in the Via della Fontana.

G. Gatti in *NSc* (S. 5) VII, 1899, 62; Becatti, *Mitrei Ostia*, 13f.

The fragment has an inscription dedicated to Ahriman, to whom Lollianus Callinicus (*cf.* No. 222) erected a statue.

222

CIL XIV 4311.

[M(arco) L]olliano Callinico patre / [P]etronius Felix Marsus / signum Arimanium do(num) ded(it).

Marsus: from the country of the Marsi.

Arimanium: see index *s.v.* and *MMM* I, 139; Vermaseren, *De Mithrasdienst*, 16.

223

Marble slab (H. 0.25 Br. 0.29), found at a small distance of the Casa di Diana in a *taberna* along the Decumanus.

Calza in *NSc* 1914, 332 n. 1; Becatti, *Mitrei Ostia*, 13.

The slab has the following inscriptions:

CIL XIV 4312

a) [M. Lollia]no Callinico / [patre Pe]troni^{us} Felix / [Marsus sign]um deo / [donum] ded(it) / ... atus xinu... / fecit.

CIL XIV 4313

b) M. M. Caer[ellius Hiero]/nimus et [Callinic]/us sacerdo/tes Solis / thronum / fec(erunt).

These three inscriptions very probably belong to the sanctuary in the Casa di Diana (we prefer to call it "Mitreo di Callinico") from which the slab was removed, when the Mithraeum was not used anymore.

M. Caerellius Hieronimus: cf. CIL XIV 4569 (dating from 198 A.D.) from which appears that he belonged to the *collegium fabrum tignuvariorum*. His name also in CIL XIV 70 = No. 282.

224

A Mithraeum (L. 8.00 Br. 4.20), "Mitreo di Lucrezio Menandro", was discovered recently, on the Via dei Molini (*Reg. I, Is. III, 5*).

Becatti, *Mitrei Ostia*, 17ff and fig. 3; Pl. II.

The sanctuary has been constructed in two vaulted rooms of a large house and has the stereotyped division into central aisle (Br. 1.87) and two side-benches (H. 0.45 Br. 1.17), which slope down towards the walls. At a distance of about 4.00 from the main entrance there are deep niches (H. 0.20 Br. 0.25) in them covered with terracotta. At the same distance from the door the mosaic floor has a leaf-ornamentation, which continues as far as the altar before the back-wall. There are no traces of a Mithras representation. At the r. side of the altar there is a small corridor (Br. 0.60), because the r. podium did not extend as far as the altar.

The paintings on the side-walls (Wirth, *Rom. Wandm.*, 133 and figs. 64-65; C. C. van Essen in *MedNHIR* VIII, 1954, 39) date from the time of Marc Aurel.

225

Brick altar covered with marble slabs. The front slab (H. 0.93 Br. 0.55) has a crescent under which the following inscription (L.H. 0.03):

Deo invicto Mithrae / Diocles ob honorem / C(ai) Lucreti Menandri / patris d(onum) d(edit) d(icavit).

226

Mithraeum (*Reg. I, Is. X, 4*) built in a private temple of a *collegium*, which is situated on the corner of Via del Pomerio and Via del Tempio Rotondo ("Mitreo di Fructosus").

Becatti, *Mitrei Ostia*, 21ff and figs. 4-6; Pl. III.

The Mithraeum has been constructed in the *favissae* of a temple. The vaulted *speleum* had two side-benches, of which only the right one has been preserved (traces of red stucco). In the backwall a semi-circular niche (H. 1.20 Br. 1.25 D. 0.40) was hewn out roughly, this was painted blue.

Two bases, one of dark greyish marble (H. 0.56 Br. 0.27–0.22), the other of travertine (H. 0.55 Br. 0.28–0.22) support statues of the two torchbearers.

On the left of the western entrance there was a rectangular space for a relief or inscription. The Mithraeum was built in the middle of the third century A.D. and was destroyed by fire.

227

Marble statue of Cautes (H. 0.30); its head, l. arm and legs got lost. He wears a short tunic and holds the torch upwards (Becatti, Pl. XXVII, 5).

228

Two pieces of a marble cornice with the following inscriptions:

a) ...rius Fructosus patron(us) corp(orationis) s(tuppatorum?).

Fructosus as a member of the *stuppatores*: cf. CIL XIV 257; CIL XIV p. 614.

b) [te]mpl(um) et spel(aeum) M(i)t(hrae) a solo sua pec(unia) feci(t).

229

A Mithraeum *Reg. I, Is. XVII, 2*) built in the foundations of the therms of Trajan ("Terme di Mitra").

Becatti, *Mitrei Ostia* 29ff and fig. 7.

The sanctuary (L. 15.37 Br. 4.55) has been constructed in the northermost part of a corridor, which was separated from the other underground rooms. Only a small communication entrance was left open in the l. wall (Br. 0.80).

The main entrance (Br. 0.75) is on the western side and is accessible by a long flight of steps which takes its beginning in the upperlying corridor of the therms.

The whole mithraeum is vaulted and has a large arch at a distance of 6.55 mtrs from the main entrance. This divides the sanctuary in two parts. The vault has in the sanctuary proper two rectangular funnels. From the fresco-decoration only some traces of green bushes have been preserved.

Two benches (H. 0.33) along the side-walls; they are accessible by small steps under the separating-arch; these benches do not run as far as the back-wall but they leave an open space in which a large base for the cult image. At the ends of the benches there are two columns (H. 0.55) on which two rough coniform stones (H. 0.20) were found. Between the ends of the podia in the central aisle there are two bases, one rectangular (H. 0.50 Br. 0.42) one triangular (H. 0.35 Br. 0.50).

230

Large white marble statue (H. 1.70 L. 1.93 Br. 0.58), placed on a base underneath one of the funnels.

Calza in *BCR* 1938, 307; *Le Arti* XVII, 1939, 389; v. Buren in *AJA* 1939, 513 fig. 5; *Italia*, 41, 1940, 40; Fuhrmann in *AA* 55, 1940, 428ff with fig. 17; G. Becatti in *Riv. I. A. St. A* VII, 1940, 88f and fig. 59; Cumont in *CRAI* 1945,

412 fig. 2; *RA* (S. 6) 1947, 6; Raïssa Calza, *Mus. O.*, No. 149; Vermaseren, 26ff and fig. opposite p. 141; G. M. A. Richter, *Three Critical Periods*, New York 1951; 47 and fig. 140; Ch. Picard in *REL* XXX, 1952, 336f; Becatti, *Mitrei Ostia*, 32ff and Pls IV, 1-2, XXVII-XXX; see fig. 69 kindly placed at my disposal by Dr. G. Becatti.

A very exceptional representation of Mithras as a bullkiller. The young god, only clad in a short tunica, which covers half of his chest, grasps the bull with his l.h. underneath his mouth and triumphantly raises the r.h. with the dagger. He forces the animal down with his knees. The sheath of the dagger is fixed to his belt. The god raises his curly head with pathetic expression towards the sky. On the base crawls the snake. No scorpion. On the bull's chest an inscription No. 231.

Lost: part of the dagger; parts of the bull's forelegs and tail. Mithras' head and arms, the bull's head and parts of its knees and tail already in antiquity had been repaired in a greyish marble. Thus the Mithraists repaired and used an older statue, the date of which is the second century A.D.

231

L.H. 0.01-0.015.

Κρίτων / Ἀθηναῖος / ἐποίησεν.

232

A Mithraeum (*Reg. II, Is. I, 2*), excavated by G. Calza on the premises of G. Aldobrandini, which lay on the ancient banks of the Tiber (before 1587) at about 150 mtrs from the Porta Romana ("Mitreo Aldobrandini"). Date of excavation 1923.

G. Calza in *NSc* (S. 5) XXI, 1924, 69ff; K. Lehmann-Hartleben in *AA* 1926, 113; Flinck, *Inscr. Ostia*, 14ff; Becatti, *Mitrei Ostia*, 39ff and fig. 8 and Pl. V, 3. See fig. 70.

Owing to its unfavourable position the mithraeum, dating from the end of the second cent. A.D., could not be entirely excavated, but yet it is clear that the entrance must have been on the S.W. side. The Mithraeum consists of a central aisle (Br. 1.90) and two

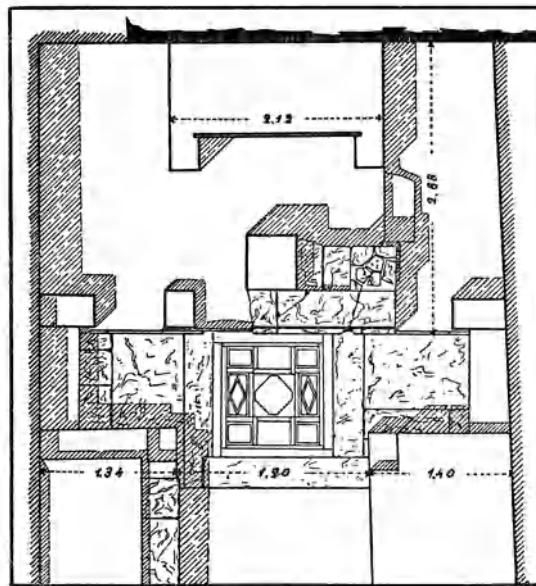


Fig. 70.

side-benches (H. 0.65 Br. 1.34–1.40), which originally were covered with marble slabs and slope towards the side-walls in which small niches. These side-benches do not run on as far as the back-wall, but cease at the entrance to a room, which lies slightly higher than the rest of the sanctuary. Between this *adyton* and the benches the floor is covered with polychromatic marble, in the shape of a square, consisting of diamonds and rectangles. One enters this back part of the sanctuary by two small steps (Br. 0.66), which led into corridors. These flank a raised *mensa* supported by brick columns having a marble revetment. This *mensa* is connected with two brick altars equally covered with marble plates. Behind this construction against the back wall there is a base (Br. 2.12) with two projecting wings (H. 0.59 Br. 0.34); to its front side was attached a marble plate (H. 0.59 Br. 1.65) with inscr. no. 233.

233

L.H.0.035–0.07.

CIL XIV 4314.

Deum vetustate religione / in velo formatum et umore obnubi/latum marmoreum cum / throno omnibusq(ue) ornamentis / a solo omni impendio suo fecit / Sex(tus) Pompeius Maximus pater/ q(ui) s(upra) s(criptus) est/ et praesepia marmoravit p(edes) LXVII idem s(ua) p(ecunia). "Il dio che una antica devozione aveva rappresentato (in pittura) sopra un velo, essendo annerito (o cancellato) dall'umidità, Sex. Pompeius Maximus l' ha fatto in marmo con il suo trono etc." (Cumont).

deum: it is not necessary to identify the god with Jupiter Coelus (Ahura Mazda), as Cumont does.

in velo formatum: cf. CIL VI 444: *bela domini*.

throno: See Nos 223; 266.

praesepia: probably the side-benches, which have a marble revetment on the front-sides (Becatti).

234

Bronze slab (H. 0.41 Br. 0.285) with inscr. No. 235. It seems to have been found in the same sanctuary. From the Castellani Coll. to London, Br. Mus.

Walters, *Cat. Bronzes*, 169 No. 904; Becatti, *Mitrei Ostia*, 42 and Pl. V, 1.

The top of the tablet is divided into three sections by two triangular notches. In the central section the naked bust of Sol with an aureole of seven rays around his head, three of which are broken off. The bust emerges from acanthus-leaves. In the r. section a *patera*, in the l. section a sacrificial knife. A handle has been made on the back, decorated with leafwork in relief. At the extremities a long, pointed dog's head.

Prof. dr B. Ashmole was so kind as to point out to me a sacrificial knife, similar to the one on the bronze tablet. It was found in Brittany at Corseul near Divan and came from the Tournier coll. into the British Museum in 1914. A tendril-motif was engraved on the sides of the handle and it ends in a lion's head.

235

CIL XIV 403; MMM II No. 141.

Sex(to) Pompeio Sex(ti) fil(io) / Maximo / sacerdoti Solis in/victi Mit(hrae) / patri patrum / q(un)q(uennali) corp(or)is treiec(tus) toga/tensium sacerdo/tes Solis invicti Mit(hrae) / ob amorem et meri/ta eius. Semper habet.

236

Marble relief (H.o. 43 Br. 0.26).

Becatti, *Mitrei Ostia*, 43 and Pl. V, 2.

Silvanus with a sickle and a pine-branch in his hands; a dog on his l. side. The god is standing in a small temple with a tympanum in which a little Gorgo-head is visible in a circular frame, decorated with two ribbons. The temple is accessible by three steps.

237

a) Three small altars of tuff. Two of it were probably incorporated in the corners of the side-benches.

b) Two small trapezophores with rosettes (H. 0.38).

c) Fragment of a small column; some lamps and three small vases.

d) Marble Silen (H. 0.20).

238

Mithraeum situated in the Western corridor of a complex of buildings generally held to be as *magazzini repubblicani* (*Reg. II, Is. II, 5*).

Paribeni in *NSc* 1920, 156 and fig. 1, pianta 6; Becatti, *Mitrei Ostia*, 45 and fig. 9; Pl. XXVI, 1.

The Mithras-sanctuary (L. 14.96 Br. 5.90) is accessible by two entrances in the right wall. It is divided in a central-aisle (Br. 2.90) still partly covered with marble, and two side-benches (H. 0.45 Br. 1.50). Both benches can be ascended by steps at their ends. Besides, the left one has another small step at its beginning. They cease in front of the brick foundations of a large base, which is as wide as the central aisle and which was constructed against the back wall. Opposite the smaller entrance, situated near the beginning of the r. side-bench a square basin (Br. 0.50) was constructed in the floor of the central aisle.

239

Mithraeum, discovered by Lanciani in 1885–1886 (*Reg. II, Is. VIII, 6*). Second half of the second cent. A.D.

Lanciani in *NSc* 1886, 162ff; Schierenberg in *JVA* LXXXIV, 1887, 250ff; Cumont, *Ostie*, 1ff; MMM II 243ff No. 84 and fig. 77; Paschetto in *Bilychnis* I, 1912, 474f = *Ostia*, 394f; Nock in *JHS* 1925, 98 fig. 1; Becatti, *Mitrei Ostia*, 47ff and fig. 10; Pl. VI, 1–2. See figs. 71 and 72.

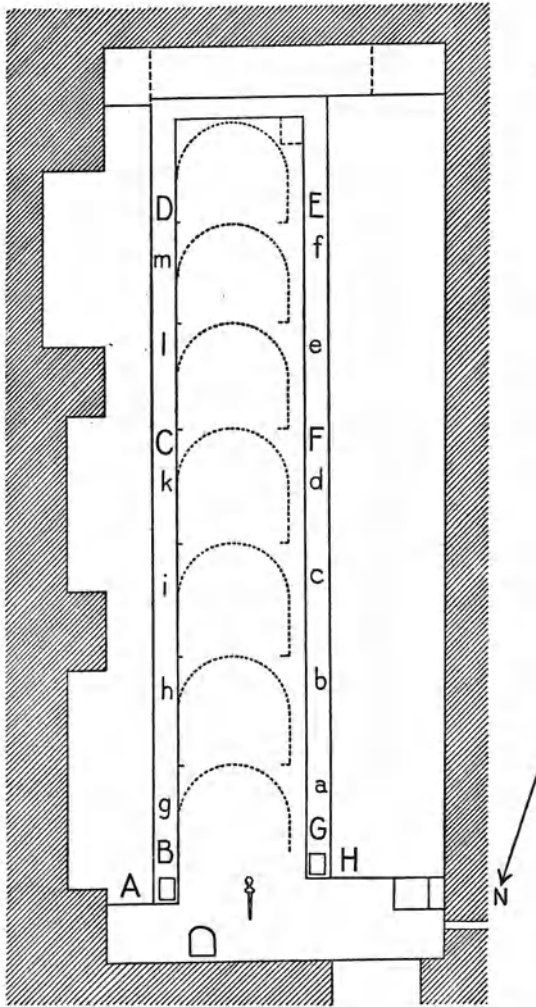


Fig. 71.

The Mithraeum was built in a rectangular room on the Western side of the Domus of Apuleius with which it communicates through a corridor. It is, however, uncertain whether already in antiquity the house communicated with the sanctuary. Entering the sanctuary (L. 11.20 Br. 4.95), one finds the usual division of central aisle (Br. 1.70), leading to the dais, and two sloping side-benches (Br. 1.50–1.65 H. 0.75–0.60), the fronts and the projecting edges of which bear representations in mosaic (see below). The floor of the central aisle is also covered with mosaic equally showing representations.

Left of the entrance (Br. 1.00) there was a ritual basin in the floor (Br. 0.45 D. 0.30). Two small niches (H. 0.54–0.44 Br. 0.30 D. 0.25) near the middle of the benches must also be thought of in connection with water. The niche of the r. bench is covered with marble and is lower than the floor. Before the cult-niche (partly covered with marble) there is a bench-like platform (H. 1.00 Br. 4.30), which may have been used to place lamps on.

240

In the white-black mosaic-floor of the central aisle near the entrance there is a dagger and behind it follow seven half circles (seven spheres of the planets) (MMM II 245; Paschetto, *Ostia*, fig. 121; cf. Cumont in *CRAI* 1945, 415; see fig. 72).

241

On the front of the l. bench :

- 1) A standing dressed Diana-Luna with crescent on her forehead (B). In her left she holds an arrow and in her right a fruit (apple?) (Becatti, Pl. VII, 2).

- 2) Standing, naked Mercurius, with a *caduceus* in his r.h. and a *rabdos* in his l.h. (C) (Becatti, Pl. VIII, 4).
- 3) Standing Jupiter, with naked breast, holding a thunderbolt in his r. hand and a sceptre in his l.h. (D). Head lost (Becatti, Pl. VIII, 1).

On the front of the r. bench :

- 4) Standing bearded Saturnus, whose head is covered by a *velum* (E) (Becatti, Pl. VIII, 2).
- 5) Standing Venus with a *velum*, flying over her head (F) (Becatti, Pl. VIII, 3).
- 6) Armed Mars in a helmet. His r.h. rests on a shield; in his l.h. a lance (G) (Becatti, Pl. VII, 1).

Each of the figures is represented in a niche.

242

On the projecting ledges of the benches the signs of the Zodiac are represented, above each of which is a star. On the r. bench those of the winter-months: Wega (a) – Scorpio (b) – Sagittarius (c) – Capricornus (d) – Aquarius (e) – Pisces (f) – and on the l. bench those of the summer-months: Aries (g) – Taurus (h) – Gemini (i) – Cancer (k) – Leo (l) – Virgo (m); the first and the last two are partly or completely lost.

243

On the fronts of the benches, facing the entrance, two other representations in mosaic:

- 1) Standing Cautopates in Eastern attire, who points down the burning torch with both hands. Not cross-legged. Left bench.
- 2) Standing Cautes, cross-legged, dressed in a short tunica only. In the outstretched r.h. he holds a burning torch, on the other hand a cock. Right bench.

244

Two small altars, walled in the corners of the benches, with a representation of a jug (Becatti, Pl. VII).

The Mithraeum described now bears the name of "Mitreo delle sette sfere". As most of the Ostian Mithraea, this sanctuary is not underground. Here the general rule had to be deviated from, because underground *spelea* in this port on the Tiber stood a great chance of being flooded during the winterseason.

To this sanctuary may also belong the monuments Nos 245–249.

245

White marble relief with black veins (H. 1.09 Br. 1.27). Vatican, Gall. Lap. XXXIII, 10 found during excavations, undertaken by Petrini in 1802–1804 by order of Pope Pius VII. The exact spot is not known, yet from several data it has become highly probable (*cf.* Becatti, *Mitrei Ostia*, 53; 123), that it is from the

very Mithraeum, which Lanciani laid open in 1886. In itself it is already remarkable, that this sanctuary should have been preserved so well, whereas the main relief and the votive altars should have entirely disappeared. Yet on the other hand it is astonishing, that in the detailed plan of Petrini's not a single indication should occur regarding excavations in this area (Paschetto).

Labus, *Bibl. It.*, III, 49 No. 2, Pl. III; Gerhard-Platner, 32 No. 26; Zoega, *Abh.*, 147 No. 4b; Lajard, *Intr.*, Pl. LXXX, 1; MMM II 240 No. 82 and fig. 70; Paschetto in *Bilychnis* I, 1912, 467ff and fig. 4; *Ostia*, 398; Eisler, *Welten-mantel* I, 62 fig. 8; CAH XII, 570; Amelung, *Skulpt. Vat.*, I (2), 274 No. 114a with Taf. 30; Becatti, *Mitrei Ostia*, 123 and Pl. XXXIV, 1; Moscioni, No. 22954. See fig. 73 with kind permission of the Direction of the Vatican Musea.

Mithras, in the usual attitude and attire, as killer of the bull, whose tail ends in three ears. Probably the raven was seated on the bull's tail; Mithras is looking at it. Dog, serpent and scorpion in the usual places. Five stars and a crescent are visible on the flying cloak of the god; two more stars are represented in the field. Above the relief, probably walled in, there is an inscription (No. 246) in the form of an arch, indicating the cave-vault. Another inscription (No. 247) under the relief. Second half of the second cent. A.D.

246

CIL XIV 60; MMM II No. 134.

A. Decimius A(uli) f(ilius) Pal(atina) Decimianus s(ua) p(ecunia) restituit.

247

CIL XIV 61.

A. Decimius A(uli) f(ilius) Pal(atina) Decimianus aedem / cum suo pronao ipsumque deum solem Mithra / et marmoribus et omni cultu sua p(ecunia) restituit.

248

CIL XIV 62; MMM II No. 135.

L. Tullius Agatho / deo invicto Soli / Mithrae aram d(onum) d(edit) / eanque dedicavit ob / honore dei M. Aemilio Epaphrodito patre.

249

CIL XIV 63; MMM II No. 136.

M. Aemilio / Epaphrodito / patre et sacerdote.

250

Near the "Terme Marittime" (Bloch, *Bolli lat.*, 278 = BCR LXVI, 1938, 146) in a room of a large palace (Palazzo Imperiale) a Mithraeum was excavated in 1860-1861 (*Reg. III, Is. VIII*).

About these excavations there is a manuscript in the Archivio dello Stato di Roma with the title *Escavazioni di Ostia, Sez. 5, Titolo 1, fasc. 5*, written by Visconti; *Giornale di Roma* 8 Maggio 1861 and 2 Giugno 1862; C. L. Visconti in *Ann. Ist.* 36, 1864, 147ff with Tav. K, 1; Wolff, *Römerkastell*, 85ff with Pl. IV, 5; MMM II 240ff No. 83 and fig. 71; Paschetto in *Bilychnis* I, 1912, 469ff = *Ostia*, 389ff; Becatti, *Mithei Ostia*, 53ff with fig. 11 and Pl. IX. See fig. 74.

Before the main-entrance *C*, there was a small apartment, which must have served as a *pronaos*. In it was a mosaic of Silvanus (see *infra*) and an altar (now lost). In the middle of the apartment the remnants of a "chimney" ("cammino") were found, probably behind an altar. On entering the sanctuary, one notices a peculiar altar near *K* (see *infra*).

The Mithraeum itself (L. 16.70 Br. 5.25) is divided into three parts: the central aisle (*A*), the floor of which is covered with a black and white mosaic, and the two benches (*BB*). Two inscriptions have been engraved (No. 251), in the floor along the benches. Three steps lead to the benches on the side of the entrance. About the middle (near *HH*) two statues of torchbearers were erected (see *infra*).

At the back of the sanctuary four steps (*F*) lead to an elevated (H. 1.00) altarniche (*E*), between two projecting walls (*II*). In this niche stood a statue of Mithras as a bullkiller behind a small altar, itself resting on a brick base walled in in the middle of the first and second steps (see *infra*). On either side of the niche there was a gallery. The opening *M* gave entry to *G*, while from the other gallery via *D* one could enter the palaestra of the Therms. Both entries, however, were walled up later on. The walls of the Mithraeum were painted red. Little lamps must have been placed, around the main-altar, where several small marble columns with broadened bases were found as well as on the ledges of the benches.

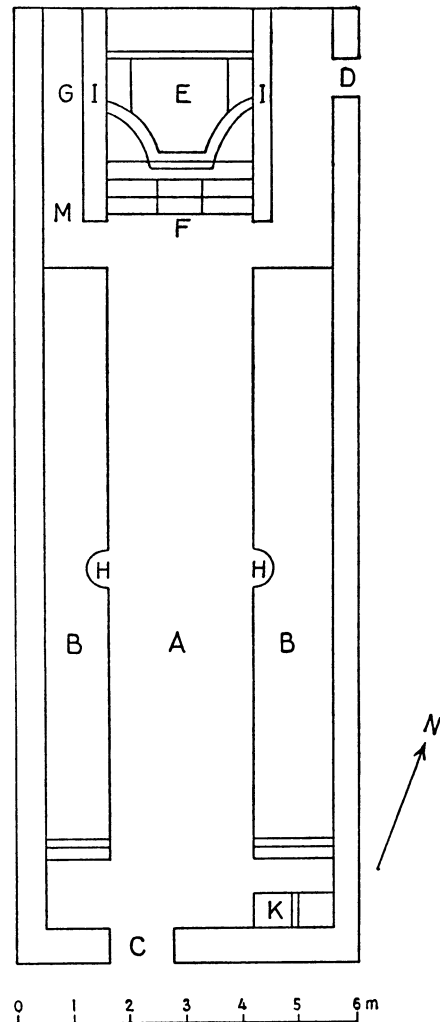


Fig. 74.

251

Two identical inscriptions on the floor of the Mithraeum.

CIL XIV 56; MMM II No. 131.

Soli invict(o) Mit(hrae) d(onum) d(edit) L. Agrius Calendio.

252

Polychrome mosaic (H. 1.58 Br. 0.92 D. 0.30) found in a niche in the pronaos: "trovato nel ripiano superiore che mette al vestibolo della scala" (Visconti). Before the niche a little lamp was found. Lateran-museum, Room XV No. 914.

Visconti, *o.c.* 174 and Pl. LM, 3; Benndorf-Schöne, 384 No. 551; MMM II 241 and fig. 73; Helbig, *Führer* II, 51 No. 1235 (1006); RRP 104, 5; Nogara, *Mosaici antichi*, 32f with Tav. LXVII; Becatti, *Mitrei Ostia*, 56f and Tav. X; Anderson No. 24397 (see fig. 75).

Against a blue background the representation of Silvanus in a white tunica with red borders and dark-yellow cloak. Around his brown curly hair a blue *nimbus*. Brown foot-wear. In his l.h. a branch; in the r.h. a *falx* with yellow handle. Beside him sits a brown dog, which is looking at him. On the l. side a burning altar. The landscape is indicated by three trees with green branches. The mosaic dates, according to C. C. van Essen in *MedNHIR* (R. 3) VIII, 1954, 77f from the time of Caracalla.

253

Little building near K.

Visconti, 166ff and Tav. K, 4; MMM II 242e and fig. 75; Paschetto, *Ostia*, 393 fig. 119, Becatti, 53.

This peculiar building is described by Visconti: "una piccola edicola murata di semplicissima struttura in forma quadrata coperta con tetto a fastigio, ed ha nella parte anteriore un'apertura pure quadrata dinanzi alla quale rimane un oggetto che poteva servire a posarvi lampade od altra cosa. Da basso ha una specie di predella che si trovò sfondata con alcuni foculi o pirei gettativi dentro alla rinfusa. Dal pavimento del tempio, su cui piana, ha un'altezza di circa palmi cinque, ed a pari delle pareti del tempio è rivestita d'intonaco rosso. La parte interna di questa nicchia, il cui piano è formato da un gran mattone bipedale, si trovò affatto vuoto".

We certainly have to do with an altar which internally was hollow. So it could be illuminated by lamps ("foculi").

254

Two marble statues (H. 0.42). Roma, Mus. Lateran, Nos. 968 and 958.

Visconti, 164 and Pl. LM, 1, 2; Benndorf-Schöne, Nos 502, 504; MMM II 243k and figs. 72, 74; RRS III 139, 8; Leipoldt, figs. 33, 34; Anderson, No. 24141 (see our fig. 76); Paschetto, *Ostia*, 392 fig. 118; Becatti, *Mitrei Ostia*, 54 and Pl. XXXV.

Inscriptions are engraved in the bases of the statues. The frontsides have

representations in relief of Cautes and Cautopates in Eastern attire. Cross-legged. They hold their torches with both hands. On the sides a jug and *patera*.

Upon these bases there are statues of the same torchbearers in the same attitudes and dresses. Traces of gilding (Visconti, 162 and *Atti Acc. Pont.* XV, CXXXVIII).

255

CIL XIV 58, 59; MMM II No. 133.

On the front-side:

C. Caelius / Ermeros / ant/istes huius lo/ci fecit sua / pec(unia).

On the left-side:

Positi XV k(alendas) / febrarias / Q. Iunio Rus/tico / L. Plaut[i]o / Aquilin[o] / co[(n)s(ulibus)].

162 A.D. As the Mithraeum is probably contemporaneous with the therms of Septimius Severus, these monuments can origin from an older Mithraeum and reused here.

C. *Caelius Ermeros* also dedicated an altar in the Mitreo delle Pareti dipinte (No. 269).

256

Marble statuette (H. 0.57 Br. 0. 22), according to *Giornale d'Italia* 28,3, 1860 (quoted by Benndorf-Schöne, 359 No. 586) found together with the preceding Nos.

Becatti, *Mitrei Ostia*, 55 and Pl. XXXVII, 2; Lateran Mus. No. 966.

Cautopates dressed in short tunica and a cloak, which is draped over the l. arm. Not crossed-legged. On the head with long hair no Phrygian cap. With his r.h. he points a burning torch downwards. Beside his l. leg a piece of rock, tapering upwards (*petra genetrix*). Behind the other leg a rocky support. The l.h. is broken off.

257a/b

Head of Greek marble (H. 0.46). Lateran Museum (Sala XVI, 950).

Becatti, *Mitrei Ostia*, 56 and Pl. XXXII, 3.

Youthful head in Phrygian cap. End of second cent. A.D. Possibly belonging to this Mithraeum.

Head of Italian marble (H. 0.36).

Benndorf-Schöne, *l.c.*; Becatti, *o.c.*, 56 and Pl. XXXII, 1-2.

Youthful head of Mithras-Helios with pathetic expression. Half open mouth; the backside of the head is so elaborated, that a separate Phrygian cap could be attached to it.

258

Two fragments of a marble statue.

Visconti, 159; MMM II 242f; Becatti, *Mitrei Ostia*, 56.

Fragments of a statue of Mithras as a bullkiller. Preserved the head in Phrygian cap and the r.h. with dagger. Head and cap have traces of red painting.

259

In front of the preceding No. there stood a square marble altar with an inscription. On the sides a *patera* (l) and a jug(r).

CIL XIV 57; MMM II No. 132.

C. Caelius Hermaeros / antistes huius loci / fecit / sua pec(unia).

260

Around the altar, described in the preceding No., a few pieces of tuff were found, worked as rocks. They form a cone (remnants of Mithras' rock-birth).

261

Marble lion's head, which was fastened into a wall because the marble of the backside ends into a flat square (Visconti, 171; MMM 243, 1).

262

1) A small lamp with two wicks, found in front of the niche with the Silvanus' mosaic.

2) On one of the podia stood, among other small lamps, a bigger one with twelve wicks and an inscription: *Serapiodori inny*.

263

The marble cap, mentioned by Visconti (p. 171), certainly belongs to the finds of Mitreo degli Animali (see No. 280).

264

A Mithraeum was constructed in the nord-west corner of the *peristylum* of a domus (Reg. III, Is. I, 6 "Mitreo delle pareti dipinte") in the second half of the second cent.A.D.

Becatti, *Mitrei Ostia*, 59ff, figs. 12-14, Pl. XI. See fig. 77.

The sanctuary (L. 17.50 Br. 4.00) has a small *vestibulum* and itself is divided into two parts by a wall, which already existed but was partly removed in order to give room to the usual central-aisle. Both side-benches are sloping to the walls and have small ledges (Br. 0.25) to their front sides.

The *podia* have on a level with the floor small niches; two of these (H. 0.35 Br. 0.20 D. 0.30) have marble revetments and are accessible by two steps underneath the partition-wall. The two other niches (H. 0.35 Br. 0.30 D. 0.30), plastered with stucco are about the middle of the inner part of the sanctuary (L. 8.00). Of the central aisle, the floor of which is paved, only the inner part leads to the dais. It was constructed as a throne (see inscr. No. 266) and has two different levels. The lower (H. 0.90 Br.

0.35) has a depression (H. 0.14 Br. 0.35 D. 0.30), whereas the higher has a small niche (H. 0.25 Br. 0.30 D. 0.16) in its front (L. 1.80 Br. 0.60).

In front of the throne, which is connected with the left side bench, is a marble altar (see No. 267) in front of which in the floor is a round basin (diam. 0.30) with a marble lid. On the right side of the altar is an elevation, probably a step. The side-walls and the back-wall have paintings.

265

Marble slab with inscription wallled in the right handside of the lower part of the cult-niche (H. 0.57 Br. 0.29).

Becatti, *o.c.*, 60.

L.H. 0.055–0.07

[A]ugusti C. / [sacerd]ote L. U. / ... ato de sua pe(cunia).

266

Marble slab (H. 0.26 Br. 0.35) wallled in into the lower part of the cult-niche.

Becatti, 60.

L.H. 0.045–0.06.

Soli / L. Semproniu(s) / thronum.

thronum: see nos 223; 233.

267

Marble altar (H. 0.60 (with base 1.40) Br. 0.45 D. 0.42).

Becatti, 61f and Pl. XI, 2.

In the backside of the altar is a rectangular hole (H. 0.27 Br. 0.20 D. 0.27), which is connected with the depression in the lower part of the cult-niche.

On the front the bust of Sol in radiate crown (greater part of the head damaged) in *tunica*. Next to his neck the lower border of a crescent. Both rays and crescent are pierced. On the r. side Cautopates (only parts of his legs and the r. hand with torch have been

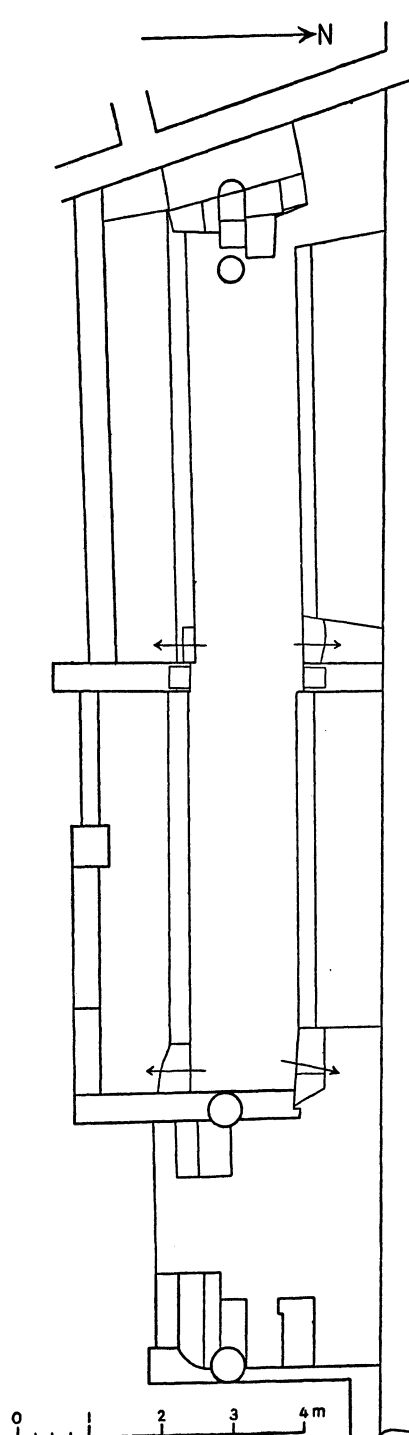


Fig. 77.

preserved); on the l. side Cautes (head lost); both cross-legged and in tunic with long sleeves.

268

On the back wall of the sanctuary there must have been a large painting, probably the scene of Mithras as a bullkiller, because many traces in blue and brown (the grotto) and red are visible. The right wall of the inner part of the sanctuary is divided in three parts:

- 1) In the left section a standing woman, frontal (Becatti, Pl. XII, 1), in short hair dress, dressed in a violet *tunica* and yellow *himation*. In her right outstretched hand she holds a mirror; with her left hand she arranges a leaf-crown (Venus-Nymphus). The woman is standing on the greenish soil and on her right side there is a tree with red and yellow flowers. See fig. 78.
- 2) In the middle section (Br. 2.20) equally on a greenish soil, there are on either side of a large tree two young men. The left one in long violet tunic, which, however, does not cover the front part of his body; he runs in the direction of the tree. In his left hand he holds a long javelin. On the other side a youth dressed in short violet tunic, which blows out. With both hands he holds a long torch. The heads of both figures are encircled by a nimbus.
- 3) In the right section (Br. 1.15) a standing youth in green tunic, violet cape and red Phrygian cap. He seems to be cross-legged. With his left hand he keeps down a torch (Cautopates). On his left side a tree (Becatti, Pl. XII, 2). See fig. 79.
- 4) On the opposite wall there are remnants of a painted procession, which progresses in the direction of the cult-niche. Underneath it different plants have been painted.
 - a) A leg of a walking person;
 - b) two legs and remnants of a yellow tunic;
 - c) head and bust of a person in red tunic and blue nimbus;
 - d) blue globe;
 - e) traces of another person in reddish-yellow;
 - f) traces of a person with torch.
- 5) The right wall of the foremost part of the Mithraeum is divided by red lines in four (originally eight?) panels in each of which is represented a standing or walking person; the figures are turned to the cult-niche (Becatti, Pl. XIII, 2).

In the two upper panels:

- a) standing person in short yellow tunic with red bands. In his hand he holds a red cloth (*flammeum*). Head and shoulders lost (*Nymphus*).
- b) Walking person in the same dress with upraised left hand in which some yellow traces are visible (ears?) (*Perses*). Both persons are standing on a green soil.

In the lower panels:

- c) walking bearded person in short tunic and small cap. In his upraised r.h. a torch (*Leo*).
- d) Upper part of a person, looking back. His l.h. is outstretched without torch.

The whole painting of the Mithraeum has been correctly dated by Becatti in the end of the second century A.D.

269

Marble cippus with inscription (H. 0.305 Br. 0.12–0.65).

Becatti, 67 and Pl. XIII, 1.

L.H. 0.013–0.021.

C. Caelius E[r]/meros / antis/tes h[ui]/us loc[i] / fecit / s(ua) p(ecunia).

The name of *C. Caelius Ermeros* occurs also in the Mithraeum of the Palazzo Imperiale (No. 255), dating from 162 A.D. The same person was therefore a priest in two sanctuaries, probably he founded this new community.

270

Small marble cippus.

Becatti, 67.

A. Aemi/lius An /ius.

271

Of the Sacello delle tre Navate (*Reg. III, Is. II, 2*), which lies near the therms-building of the “Sette Sapienti”, it cannot be said with certainty if it was a Mithraeum. It has the division into central aisle and side-benches and the roof is supported by ten columns. The decorated cult-niche is very considerable. Representations and graffiti, however, nor the presence of many windows do not point to a Mithras-sanctuary.

Before the cult-niche in the mosaic of the floor is a representation of a burning altar between a pig (r), knife and *cantharus* (l). Besides, there is near the entrance a large basin (Becatti 69ff fig. 16 and Pl. XIV).

272

A Mithraeum (*Reg. III, Is. XVII, 2*) constructed in a building from the Hadrian period (“Mitreo della *planta pedis*”), situated near Horrea and a Serapeum.

Becatti, *Mitrei Ostia*, 77ff, fig. 18 and Pls. XV, XVI, 3. See fig. 80.

The part of the house transformed into a Mithraeum has two rows of three pillars, which divide the sanctuary into three sections. In the middle section runs a central-aisle between two small benches (H. 0.40 Br. 0.25), constructed against the pillars. In the right bench, before the middle pillar, is a small rectangular depression (L. 0.10) and in its base a niche (H. 0.35 Br. 0.42 D. 0.30) in which bones of fowls have been found. The niche in the opposite bench is deeper (D. 0.60 Br. 0.42). It seems that behind this bench a larger one extends in the left section

(Br. 2.00) of the sanctuary. At the end of the r. bench an entrance (Br. 1.10) had been made in the side wall, the main entrance, however, was opposite the cult-niche (Br. 0.80). The niche had three levels: the first (H. 0.55 D. 0.75) is covered

with black-white mosaic (five crosses between two squares); the second level (H. 0.25 D. 0.50) had a marble revetment; the third (H. 0.44 D. 0.70) had a small rectangular brick base.

A base is (H. 0.50–0.60 Br. 0.30) on either side before the niche, probably for statues of the torchbearers (lost). Between them is a marble altar (H. 1.00 Br. 0.34 D. 0.30) in the top of which is a depression.

The floor of the central-aisle has a mosaic decoration, existing of a small black line approximately in the centre of the sanctuary. Near this band there is the representation of a serpent (L. 1.00), whereas near the entrance a foot is visible. The original floor of the Mithraeum, however, had only a simple pavement of *coccipisto* and in it on the same place a footmark was imprinted. (Becatti, Pl. XVI, 1).

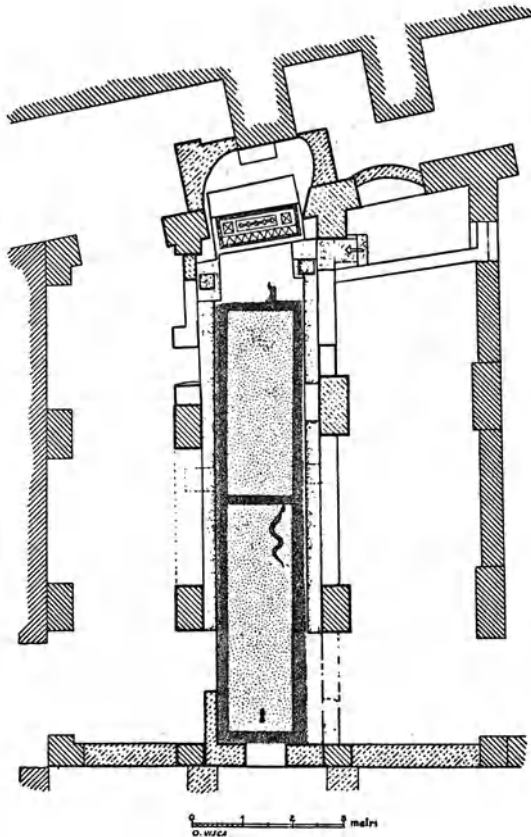


Fig. 80.

273

Marble slab (H. 0.37 Br. 0.75) belonging to the marble revetment of the cult niche.
L.H. 0.03–0.05.

Becatti, 82.

Pr(o) sal(ute) Au(gustorum duorum) / S(oli) i(nvicto) M(ithrae) / Florius Hermadio / sacerdos s(ua) p(ecunia) f(ecit).

The two emperors may have been Marc Aurel and Lucius Verus, Marc Aurel and Commodus, Septimius Severus and Caracalla or Caracalla and Geta (Becatti).

A. Fl(avius) Hermadio in Rome No. 590.

274

Fragments of a marble relief, which decorated the cult niche.

Becatti, 82f and Pl. XVI, 3.

Fragments of a representation of Mithras as a bullkiller, of which only two side parts have been preserved. Bust of Sol in radiate crown (traces of a red colour), a small part of the border of the grotto and the tail of the raven (H. 0.17 Br. 0.20); another fragment shows the bust of Luna in crescent and a part of the rocky border (traces of red).

It is clear, that the relief originally belonged to the first period of the Mithraeum but in constructing the new cult niche in the time of Valerian (No. 277) the Mithraists themselves reduced the proportion of the relief by cutting away its upper part and its side parts (Becatti, 82).

275

Circular marble basin (H. 0.25 diam. 0.60) with inscription on its border.

Becatti, 83 and Pl. XVI, 2.

L.H. 0.022.

[In]victo Mithrae d(onum) d(edit) M(arcus) Umbilius Criton cum Pyladen vil[ico].

Criton (cf. inscr. No. 231) probably was a *libertus* of *M. Umbilius Maximinus* (CIL XIV, 177 and 251) who was a *patronus* of the *corpus lenunculariorum tabulariorum auxiliariorum, ostiensium* in 192 A.D. cf. G. Barbieri, *l'Albo senatorio di Settimio Severo a Carino* (193–285) Roma 1952, 184f.

276

Marble slab in different fragments (H. 0.25 Br. 0.46).

Becatti, 84.

L.H. 0.025–0.04.

Silvano / sancto / sacrum / Hermes / M. Iuli Eunici.

277

Coin of Valerianus with on the obverse the image of Sol in radiate crown. The coin was deposited in the upper level of the throne in the cult niche. It proves a reconstruction of the niche between 252–254 A.D.

278

A Mithraeum (*Reg. IV, Is. II, 11*), discovered in 1861 adjacent to the Metroon, the west side of the *Campus Matris Magnae* ("Mitreo degli Animali"). About 160 A.D.

C. L. Visconti in *Ann. Ist. XI*, 1868, 362 ff, who does not describe the sanctuary satisfactorily and did not recognise its real purpose; cf. Visconti, 402ff and *Mon. Ist. VIII*, Pl. LX, M. Cumont understood its meaning: *MMM II* 414ff and 523 No. 295 with fig. 346; Paschetto in *Bilychnis*, 1912, 476; Becatti, *Mitrei Ostia*, 87ff and fig. 19, Pl. XVII. See fig. 81.

The oblong Mithraeum (L. 16.30 Br. 4.00–4.50) shows some resemblance with that of the Therms of Caracalla in Rome (see No. 457). From a corridor (*m*), which

runs parallel to the sanctuary, one reaches the actual Mithraeum through an entrance (*o*) (Br. 1.00). This is divided by eight pillars into a central aisle (Br. 1.30), which is decorated with mosaics (see below), and the two side benches *kk* (L. 4.50 Br. 1.40). The central aisle leads to the elevated dais and only a small part of it has been preserved. The niche (Br. 2.40) occupies almost the whole backwall, only at its right side a room was left for a door. Upon the podium of the niche itself, accessible by a flight of three steps, an *edicola* was built, the right pillar of which still exists.

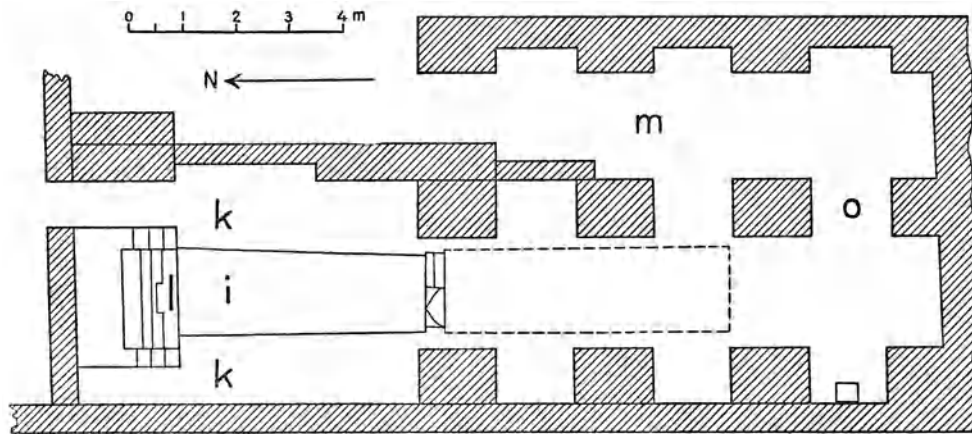


Fig. 81.

In the room (L. 1.60 Br. 0.91) before the niche and the r. side-bench, there is a well, the water of which can be carried off through a terra-cotta conduit-pipe, which begins at the foot of the bench. A similar pipe was constructed in the base of the niche, where, as an extension of the well, a considerable hollow (L. 2.15 Br. 0.90) was made.

In the side-walls, which were covered with marble slabs, there are a number of niches formed by six pillars.

279

In the black and white mosaic of the central aisle, number of figures are still discernable. (Becatti, Pl. XVIII). Near *o* Visconti saw the outlines of a figure, which he held to be belonging to one of the Corybantes "nell'azione consueta di percuotersi a vicenda gli scudi". Further a standing, bearded man. He is dressed only in a *subligaculum* and holds in his outstretched l.h. a *falx* and in his r.h. a shovel (*leo* or *Perses*). Further a raven (by Visconti taken for an owl); near it a cock and in front of it a scorpion. In the centre of the aisle a serpent with a crest on the head and lastly, in front of the cult-niche, a bull's head which seems to be decorated with bands. Next to it a dagger sticking in the ground.

280

Head of Greek marble (H. 0.46), found near the cult niche *i*.

Visconti in *Mon. Ist.* VIII, Pl. LX, 4; Benndorf-Schöne, No. 547; MMM II 417, fig. 548 and 523 fig. 490; Cumont in *RA* 1947, 4ff with figs. 1–3; Becatti, 91 and Pl. XXXI, 2–3. Lateran Museum.

Head with long curly hair in which seven holes have been made for fastening rays. A Phrygian cap, which was found later on, belongs to this head, certainly a head of Mithras *tauroktonos*.

281

Marble head. Lateran Museum.

Becatti, 91 and Pl. XXXII, 4.

Head of Helios-Mithras with curly hair, in which seven holes for fastening rays.

In the sanctuary the following inscriptions were discovered:

282

Parvus cippus marmoreus.

CIL XIV 70; MMM II 560a.

... d(onum) d(edit) / M. Cerellio / Hieronymo patri / et sacerdoti suo / eosque antistes s(upra) s(criptus) / deo libens dicavit.

“Donationes ita factas esse ut signa donarentur sacerdoti, ab hoc deo dicarentur, ex hac inscriptione discimus” (Dessau). *cf.* No. 223.

283

Parvus cippus marmoreus.

CIL XIV 53; MMM II No. 560b.

C. Atilius Bassi sa/cerdotis lib(ertus) Felix appa/rator M(atris) d(eum) m(agnae) signum / Silvani dendrophoris / Ostiensibus d(onum) d(edit).

apparator: see index *s.v.*

284

Columna parva marmorea.

CIL XIV 69; MMM II No. 560c.

Virtutem / dendrop(horis) / ex ar(genti) p(ondo) II / Iunia Zosime / mater d(onum) d(edit).

285

Small marble base. According to the Corpus it is accepted of old, that it comes from the same place as the two preceding monuments, “sed haec prodiit anno 1864 una cum aliis marmoribus ex fornace calcarea.”

CIL XIV 33; MMM No. 560d.

T. Annii Lucullus (se)vir / aug(ustalis) idem q(uin)q(uennalis) honoratus /

signum Martis dendrophor(is) / Ostiensium d(onum) d(edit) dedicavit / id(ibus) mai(is) Torquato et Herode co(n)s(ulibus).

143 A.D.

286

Parva basis marmorea. Together with the preceding no.

CIL XIV 67; MMM II No. 560e.

Sex(tus) Annius Merops / honoratus dendrophoris / Ostiensium signum Terrae matris / d(onum) d(edit) dedicavit XIII k(alendas) Mai(as) / L. Cuspio Rufino L. Statio Quadrato co(n)s(ulibus).

142 A.D.

287

Mithraeum (*Reg. IV, Is. V, 13*), built in a magazine ("Mitreo delle sette porte"); 160–170 A.D.

Becatti, *Mitrei Ostia*, 93 ff, fig. 20 and Pl. XIX. See fig. 82.

The sanctuary (L. 7.05 Br. 5.80) has the entrance (Br. 2.00) opposite the cult-niche and has the normal division into a central aisle (Br. 2.00) and two side-benches (H. 0.50 Br. 1.80), which are as long as the side-walls. The l. podium has at its end a small base (H. 0.50 Br. 0.35 D. 0.50). Both benches have ledges, decorated with mosaic (Br. 0.37) and they have at their beginnings small pilasters equally decorated with mosaic. More or less in the middle of each bench there is the usual niche (H. 0.30 Br. 0.35 D. 0.25). In both niches there were small altars. At a distance of 1.80 mtrs from the back wall there is, in the floor, a circular ritual basin (diam. 0.25 D. 0.25) between two square marble slabs which each had a hole from which a lead-pipe emerged. In front of the cult-niche there is, on a circular marble base (diam. 0.56), a white stuccoed altar (H. 0.45 Br. 0.50). In its frontside is a pierced crescent, which was covered with glass (fragments of which are preserved).

Before the semicircular cult-niche is a platform (H. 0.80 Br. 1.50 D. 0.30) with a ledge on its front side. The niche was decorated with stucco; traces of blue and red are preserved.

The side walls were equally painted: above a diamond shaped yellow band there are on a white background two palms between two rows of bushes (Becatti, Pl. XXII).

Approximately at the end, the south-wall is divided into an upper and a lower part by red lines. In the upper part, there is a blue disc over a green ground. The disc is yellowish-red in its centre. The lower part has a geometric ornament in red and yellow.

Of the paintings on the western wall on either side of the entrance only those on the left are preserved. This part of the wall is divided into four sections: the two lower ones are respectively decorated with a bush and a geometric ornament, the upper two probably with small trees.

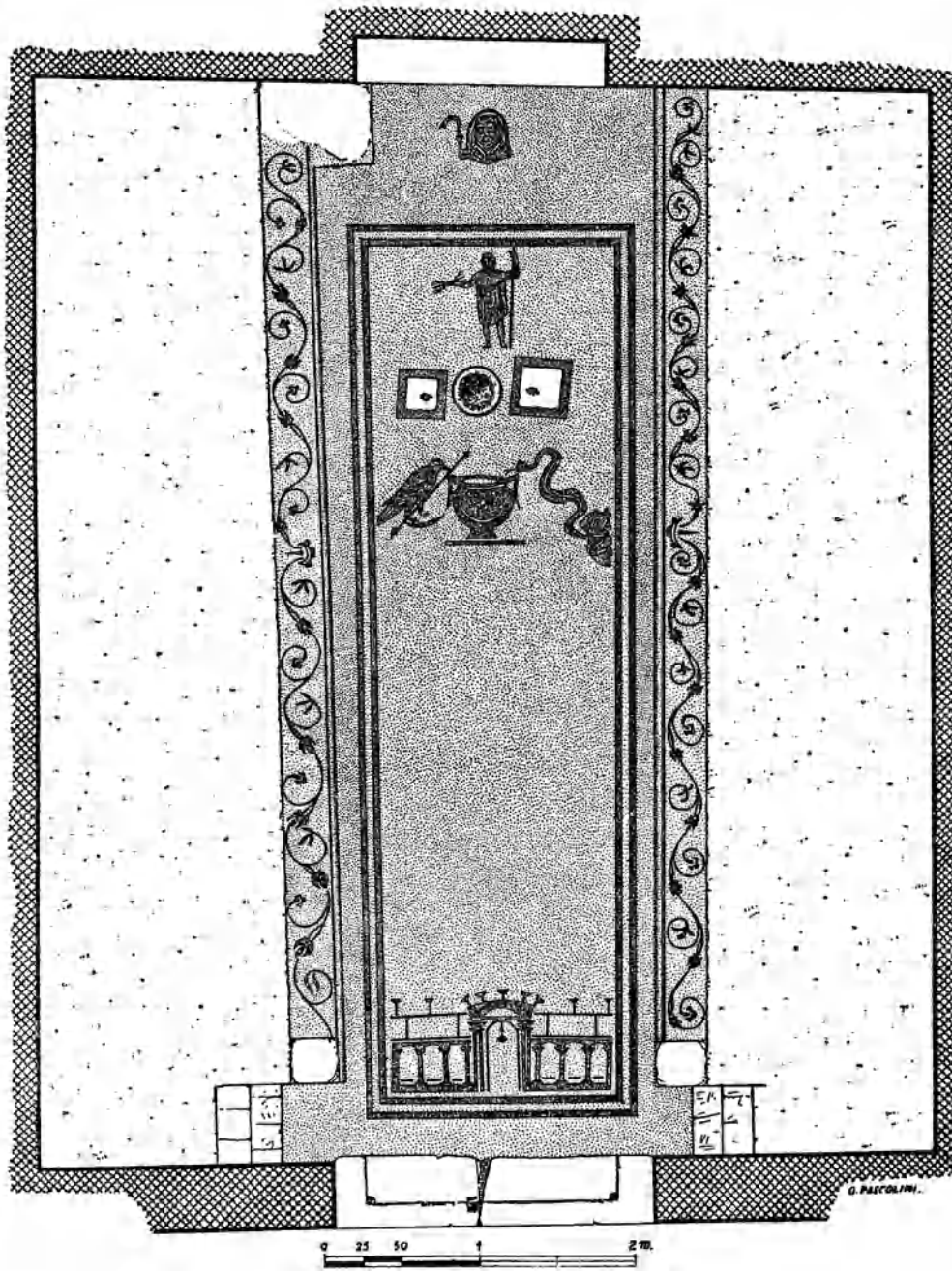


Fig. 82.

288

The mosaic paved floor of the central aisle shows different figures:

- 1) On the threshold a large central arch formed by two pilasters; this main arch, from which hangs an *oscillum* is flanked by three minor arches on either side (seven spheres of the planets) (Becatti, Pl. XIX).
- 2) Before the basin: a krater, decorated with leaves and on its right side a serpent issuing from a rock; it holds its head above the rim of the krater. On the left side an eagle seated upon a thunderbolt (Becatti, Pl. XX, 3).
- 3) Behind the basin: standing bearded Jupiter holding sceptre (l.h.) and lightning (r.h.), he is dressed in a long cloak, which does not cover his breast. Above him the bearded head and bust of Saturn in *velum* and a *falx* (Becatti, Pl. XXI, 3).
- 4) The front side and the ledges of the side benches are decorated with fine curled tendrils emerging from a bush of acanthus; at the beginning of the *podia* near the entrance are the figures of the two torchbearers (Becatti, Pl. XX) standing on a base, cross-legged (only the lower part preserved).
- 5) On the right podium next to the torchbearer, a standing Mars in short tunic holding a lance in his r.h. and a trophy with armour against his l. shoulder (Becatti, Pl. XXI, 1).
- 6) Next to the small niche: standing Luna with crescent on her head, with both hands holding an outblowing *velum* above her head (Becatti, Pl. XXI, 4).
- 7) On the left podium next to the torchbearer: standing nude Venus (Becatti, Pl. XXI, 2).
- 8) Next to the small niche standing nude Mercurius with tunic over his l. arm; he holds a purse (r.h.) and a *caduceus* (l.h.).

289

Marble altar found near the entrance (H. 0.295 Br. 0.22 D. 0.21).

Becatti, 99.

L.H. 0.02–0.027.

Sex(tus) Fusinius / Felix / don(um) ded(it).

Sex. *Fusinius Augustalis* in an inscription from 140 A.D. (CIL XIV 246 col. IV, 31).

290

Lamp with six wicks, found near the altar before the cult-niche.

291

Fragments of a krater of a sort of green glazed maiolica with silver sheen.

Becatti, 98.

Probably a *dodekatheon* was represented on it, only some figures of which are preserved: Minerva with lance and shield; Jupiter with sceptre and lightning; Dionysus with *thyrsus* and *cantharus*; Hercules with club and vase in his outstretched l.h.

292

Lower part of a statue (H. 0.37), which certainly stood on one of the bases at the beginnings of the podia.

Becatti, 99 and Pl. XXXVII, 3.

Lower part of a torchbearer, cross-legged in *anaxyrides* and short tunic.

293

Marble statue (H. 0.80).

Becatti, 99 and Pl. XXXVII, 1.

Standing woman in *himation*. Between her feet is a hole for a waterpipe. Head, both arms and r. foot got lost. Becatti is not certain if it belongs to the inventory of the Mithraeum. It may be a water-Nymph.

294

A Mithraeum (*Reg. V, Is. VI, 6*) constructed in a complex of buildings with *tabernae* behind the Decumanus Maximus ("Mitreo dei Serpenti").

Becatti, *Mitrei Ostia*, 101ff, fig. 21 and Pl. XXIV, 1.

By a side way of the Via della Fortuna Annonaria one enters a quadrangular room, serving as the *vestibulum* to the sanctuary (L. 11.97 Br. 5.15); it is divided into a central aisle and two side benches (L. 9.75 Br. 1.70 H. 0.50) with small ledges. Only the right one has a step at its beginning; both have approximately in the middle the usual niches and they end before the cult-niche. This *thronum* was constructed between two *antae*, the left of which does not extend as far as the painted backwall.

Between the *antae* are two wide steps (H. 0.60 and 0.24 D. 0.40); the upper podium probably had an *edicola*, in which a representation of Mithras.

In front of the niche there is a small brick altar (H. 0.50 Br. 0.60).

On both walls of the left corner of the sanctuary a serpent is represented on either side of a *genius* (Becatti, Pl. XXIII, 1-2). Above them there are guirlands hanging down; in the background there are some bushes; the *genius* is in a white tunic and red toga, covering his head. He is standing between two bushes; only the upper part is preserved. These paintings probably belonged to a *lararium* of the second cent. A.D., transformed into a Mithraeum in the third century.

295

Small altar of travertine (H. 0.38 Br. 0.20) without decoration or inscription.

296

Marble statue (H. 0.22), found in 1939 together with No 297 between the Semita dei Cippi and the Via della Fortuna Annonaria. Ostia, Antiquarium.

Becatti, *Mitrei Ostia*, 129 No. 2 and Pl. XXXVII, 4.

Standing Cautes with upraised torch. Head, the greater parts of the arms and

legs, the upper part of the torch have got lost. He is cross-legged and dressed in *tunica manicata* and cloak.

297

Marble statue (H. 0.19). Ostia, Antiquarium.
Becatti, 129 No. 3 and Pl. XXXVII, 6.

Standing Cautopates in the same style. Head, greater parts of legs have got lost.

298

Graffito, inscribed by the possessor of a simple dark room, on a wall of the Caseggiato del Sole (Reg. V, Is. VI, I); this house is situated annex to the Mitreo dei Serpenti (Becatti, *Mitrei Ostia*, 125ff, fig. 24 and pl. XXXVIII, 4) (L.H.0.02-0.04).

Dominus Sol / hic avitat.

avitat: abitat.

299

Mithraeum (Reg. V, Is. IX, 1) built in a house of uncertain destination ("Mitreo di Felicissimo"). Second half of third cent. A.D.

Becatti, *Mitrei Ostia*, 105ff, fig. 22 and Pl. XXIV, 2. See fig. 83.

The entrance (Br. 2.20) to the Mithraeum (L. 11.10-10.35) is in the left wall and opposite to it in the right wall is a semi-circular niche. The two side-benches (H. 0.20 Br. 1.40-1.15) end just in front of the entrance and this niche, they have not any steps. Near the entrance

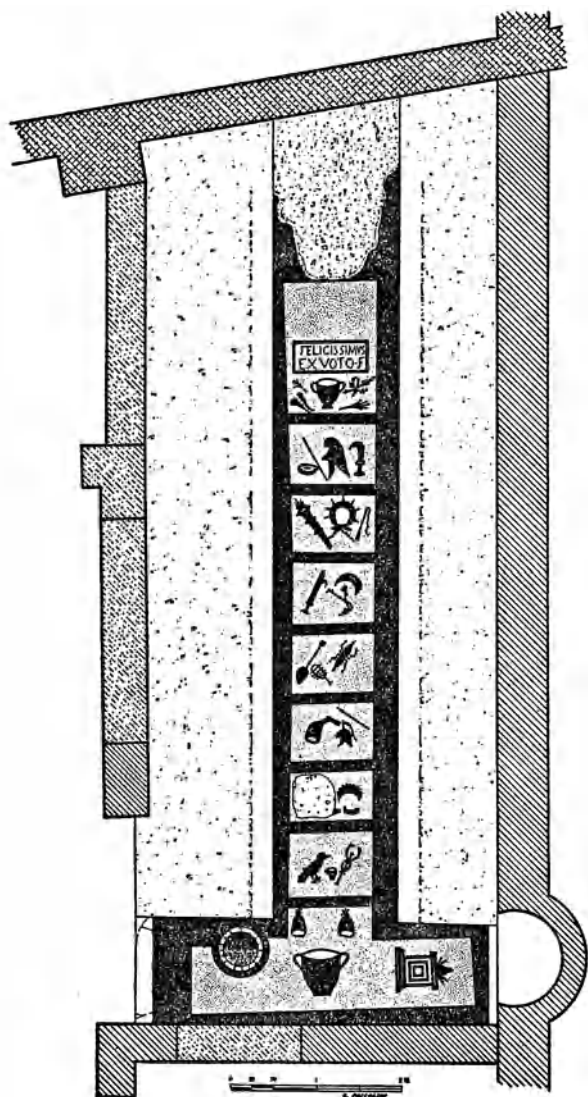


Fig. 83.

is a ritual basin (diam. 0.40). The central aisle has a mosaic pavement with the symbolic representations of the different mithraic grades (Becatti, Pl. XXV):

- 1) Near the entrance is a stylized tree.
- 2) In the middle of the floor, in the space between the entrance and the niche, is a *krater*.
- 3) Before the niche is a burning altar.
- 4) Above the *krater* and then in the direction of the backwall the following figures, separated from each other by black bands:
Two phrygian caps surmounted by a crescent.
- 5) A small vase between a raven (l) and *caduceus* (r) (Corax-Mercurius).
- 6) Radiate diadem in the form of a crescent; underneath it a lamp (Nymphus-Venus).
- 7) Helmet; above it a lance. Military bag (Miles-Mars).
- 8) Lightning, *sistrum* and fire-spade (Leo-Jupiter).
- 9) *Falx*; crescent and underneath it a star and another *falx* of a different type (Perses-Luna).
- 10) Crown with seven rays and with bands; torch (l) and whip (r) (Heliodromus-Sol).
- 11) *Falx*, Phrygian cap, staff, *patera* (Pater-Saturnus).
- 12) Vase among different twigs. Above it a dedication:
L.H. 0.105–0.12.
Felicissimus / ex voto f(ecit).

300

Mithraeum (*Reg. V, Is. XII, 3*) excavated in 1909 ("Sabazeo"). Probably first quarter of the third cent. A.D.

Vaglieri in *NSc* 1909, 20f; Becatti, *Mitrei Ostia*, 113ff and fig. 23, Pl. XXVI, 2.

The sanctuary (L. 13.00 Br. 5.60) was constructed in a part of *Horrea* and is divided in a central aisle (Br. 2.07) and two side-benches (Br. 1.80 H. 0.40) sloping towards the walls. Only the left one is as long as the sanctuary itself.

The entrance is in the right wall (Br. 1.00); here a corridor leads into the central aisle, which is partly decorated with a mosaic pavement (see below). In the floor, about in the middle of the Mithraeum is a ritual basin (diam. 0.35), covered by an *oscillum* (Satyr and Maenad). The central aisle leads towards the cultniche, of which only three steps are preserved. Near the entrance there must have been a base (Vaglieri).

301

Inscription in the mosaic part of the central aisle. In a *tabula ansata*:

CIL XIV 4297; Becatti, 114.

Fructus / suis in/pendis / consum/mavit.

302

Marble slab, used in the pavement of the floor.

CIL XIV 4722.

Exedr(a) peculiar(is) Arpoc[ratis].

303

Marble slab (H. 0.16 Br. 0.36).

CIL XIV 4296.

L. Aemiliu[s. . .] / Eusc(hemus?) ex imperio Iov/is Sabazi votum fecit.

304

CIL XIV 4318.

Numini C[ae]lesti / P. Clodius F[l]avius / Venera[n]dus / (se)vir [a]ug(ustalis) / somnu monitus fecit.

305

CIL XIV 4309, found near the Mithraeum.

[Invicto] Deo Soli / [omnip]otenti / [sanct]o Caelesti / N[u]m[ini p]raesenti / Fo[r]tu[na]e Laribus / Tut[elae]que / [sa]c(rum) / V[enera]ndus.

[*sanct*]o: Vaglieri supplies [*domin*]o.

numen praesens: cf. CIL XIV 3567; CIL VII 481; No. 214.

Venerandus occurs also in the funeral inscription CIL XIV 1388.

306

A base in the form of an altar (H. 0.185 Br. 0.14) and five small bacchic herms; eleven lamps.

307

Two fragments of a marble frieze (L. 0.52 and 0.78 H. 0.30), one found in 1890 in the outer *porticus* of the Theatre, and the other found in 1938 near the Mithraeum.

Becatti, 116 and Pl. XXXVIII, 3.

In the frieze the busts of the planetary gods have been incised: Sol in radiate crown; Luna in crescent; Mars in helmet; bearded Jupiter; Venus.

308

Small *cippus* (H. 0.34 Br. 0.18 D. 0.16), found opposite the Theatre.

N^{Sc} (S. 5) VII, 1910, 186 No. 2; CIL XIV 4315; Becatti, 130 No. 7 and Pl. XXXIX, 3.

[Na]ma Victori Patri / Aur(elius) Cresce[n]s / Aug(usti) lib(ertus) / fratres ex / speleo dilap/so in melio/ri restaura/vit.

fratres: the two torchbearers. The *cippus* probably supported a statue of Cautes or Cautopates. Third cent. A.D.

309

In the period between 1794 and 1800 the English painter Robert Fagan discovered a Mithraeum (*Reg. III, Is. VIII*), of which nowadays only extremely

scarce data are known. It is situated between the Tor Boacciana and the Palazzo Imperiale. We know that a natural cave had been imitated, which was entered by a long narrow corridor (Zoega, *Abh.*, 198; Visconti in *Ann. Ist.* 1864, 151; Becatti, *Mitrei Ostia*, 119).

310

Marble statue (H. 0.84 Br. 1.42), found "at the entrance of the sanctuary". Mus. Vaticana, Galleria Lapidaria XXXIII, 1.

Labus, *Bibl. It.*, III, 54 Taf. III; Fea, *Rel. Ostia*, 44; A. Nibby, *Viaggio antiquario a Ostia*, Roma 1829, 75; Zoega, *Abh.*, 146f No. 2 and Taf. V, 15; Gerhard-Platner, 32 No. 25; Lajard, *Intr.*, Pl. LXXX, 2; Visconti in *Ann. Ist.* 1864, 149; MMM II 237f No. 79 and fig. 67; Amelung, *Skulpt. Vat.*, I (2) 275 No. 144b and Taf. 30; RRS II 476, 3; Paschetto in *Bilychnis* 1912, 466f, fig. 1 = *Ostia*, 385 and fig. 33; Becatti, 119 and Pl. XXXIV, 2. Fig. 84 placed at my disposal by the Direction of the Vatican Musea.

Mithras as a bullkiller. His flying cloak is adorned with seven stars around a crescent. The raven is seated on the bull's tail, which ends in three ears. The dog with collar and the serpent with their heads near the wound; the scorpion in the usual place. On the lower border the inscription No. 311. End of the second cent. A.D.

311

CIL XIV 64; MMM II No. 138.

Sig(num) indreprehensivilis dei / L(ucius) Sextius Karus et / C(aius) Valerius Heracles sacerdos s(ua) p(ecunia) p(osuerunt).

The name of L. Sextius Karus was added later on in small letters.

312

White marble statue (H. 1.60 Br. base 0.52), found in the Mithraeum on the right side. Beside the entrance of the Biblioteca Vaticana.

Labus, *Bibl. Ital.* V (May 1816), 208f; Zoega, *Abh.*, 198, 1 and Pl. XV, 16; Lajard, *Rech.*, 584 and *Intr.* Pl. LXX; Millin, *Gal. Myth.*, XVIII, 4 (who mistakes it for a monument from Rome, No. 545); Clarac, *Mus. Sculpt.*, No. 1193, Pl. 559; O. Müller, *Denkm.*, II (4), 71f and Pl. 75, 967; MMM II 238f No. 80 with fig. 68; Roscher, *Myth. Lex.*, 3039 and fig. 1; RRS I, 296, 3; Eisler, *Weltenmantel* II 412 f and fig. 50; Paschetto in *Bilychnis* 1912, fig. 2 = *Ostia*, 170 fig. 34; Autran, *Mithra*, 128 fig.; Gressmann, *Gestirnrel.*, fig. 3; Cecchelli in *Roma* 1941, Pl. XIX; D. Levi in *Hesperia* XII, 1944, 275 fig. 4; Becatti, 119 and Pl. XXXVI, 1; Alinari 35666 (see fig. 85).

Standing, naked figure with lion's head and wide open mouth. Behind his shoulders he has two small wings and two more on his hips. These wings have been placed in opposite directions and carry the symbols of the four seasons. They are

decorated with a dove and a swan (top right), ears (top left), a bunch of grapes (bottom left), two palms and a reed (bottom right). The god is entwined in six coils of a serpent, which rests its head on the god's (Aion). On his breast a thunderbolt. In his hands which he presses against his body, he holds a key with twelve drill-holes, and in his left moreover a long staff or sceptre with a knob on either side. On the base beside the r. leg of the god a pair of tongs and a hammer (Vulcanus) and beside the l. leg a *caduceus*, a cock and a pine-cone. Above it the inscription No. 313. The whole statue was painted red.

313

CIL XIV, 65; MMM II No. 137.

C. Valeri/us Heracles pat(er) / et C(aii) Valerii / Vitalis et Nico/mes sacerdo/tes s(ua) p(e)c(unia) p(o)s(ue)r(unt). / D(e)d(icatum) idi(bus) aug(ustis) im(peratore)/ Com(mod)o / VI et /Septi(miano) / co(n)s(ulibus).

190 A.D. In spite of the *condemnatio memoriae* of Commodus, his name was not obliterated here, which is due to the fact, that this Emperor himself had been initiated in the mysteries (Cumont).

314

White marble relief (H. 1.07 Br. 0.40 D. 0.025), found opposite to the preceding monument. Vatican, Museo Chiaramonti XIV, 3.

Zoega, *Abh.*, 198, 2; Lajard, *Mém. Vienne*, Pl. I, 2; *Intr.*, Pl. LXXI, 1; *Rech.* 584; Amelung, *Skulpt. Vat.*, I, 74, 567 fig. 69; MMM II 239f No. 81 and fig. 69; RRR III 383, 1; Eisler, *Weltenmantel*, II 446, fig. 57; Paschetto in *Bilych-nis* 1912, 467 fig. 3 = *Ostia*. 386 fig. 114; Autran, *Mithra*, 128; Becatti, 120 and Pl. XXXVI, 2. See fig. 86.

Standing, naked figure with lion's head and open mouth (Aion). In his hands which he presses against his breast, he holds a key. Behind his shoulders he has two wings and two more on his hips. He is entwined by a serpent, the head and tail of which are hanging above a *krater*. This vessel stands between and under his feet. The statue was according to Zoega, formerly gilded, now however, it is black with traces of red on the right shoulder-wing and of violet on the knees, hands, feet and serpent. In the relief there are three little holes for fastening purposes.

315

Inscription, probably found together with the Nos. 312 and 314.

CIL XIV 66; MMM II No. 139.

C. Valerius Heracles pat[e]r e[t] an[tis]/tes dei iu[b]enis inconrupti So[l]is invicti Mithra[e] / c]ryptam palati concessa[m] sibi a M. Aurelio / . . .

De Rossi supplies: Commodo Antonino Aug(usto).

316

Fragment of a terracotta slab (H. 0.077 Br. 0.11). From Ostia, but the exact find-spot is unknown. Ostia, Antiquarium (Inv. No. 3253).

Becatti, *Mitrei Ostia*, 130 No. 5 and Pl. XXXVIII, 5.

The fragment has an elliptical shape and is slightly convex. Mithras in oriental dress (Phrygian cap, tunic and flying cloak) as a bullkiller. Scorpion and dog.

317

Small white marble *cippus* (H. 0.115 Br. 0.185 D. 0.197). The exact find-spot is unknown. About 200 A.D. Ostia, Magazines.

Becatti, 130 No. 6.

L.H. 0.016–0.014.

[An]tonin[us] / pater / Cauti.

318

Bronze brooch (diam. 0.07), found at Ostia in 1899. It came together with the Sir John Evans Collection to the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford in 1927.

Vermaseren in *Antiquaries Journal* XXVIII, 1948, 177ff and Pl. XXVIIa; *Summary Guide to the Department of Antiquities of the Ashmolean Museum*, Oxford 1951, 59 and Pl. XLVII B; Becatti, *Mitrei Ostia*, 129f and Pl. XXXVIII, 1. See fig. 87.

The brooch is a thin disc of bronze slightly convex, and the reverse is plain, except for a high pin and catch-plate. Mithras slaying the bull. The god is in oriental dress and with a nimbus and crown of nine rays. He kneels in the normal manner on the bull, which bears two bands round its body and has a tail ending in a single tuft. Mithras raises the dagger. The wound is clearly visible and the dog stands by with open mouth to lick the blood. The snake crawls along the ground and the scorpion clasps the testicles. The raven, at which Mithras is looking, sits on the god's blowing cloak. Two birds take the place of the two torchbearers; one, a cock, stands facing the bull's mouth, the other perches on the bull's tail.

The brooch is also of some importance from the technical point of view, in that the engraver's work upon it would seem to be unfinished: most of the figure of Mithras and the animals in the field are all properly chased, whereas the bull and Mithras' face, nimbus and dagger are only sketchily incised.

319

Marble torso (H. 0.185), found at Ostia in 1912 between the Decumanus and the Via dei Molini. Vatican Musea (Museo Profano).

Vaglieri in *NSc* 1913, 210f with fig. 15; Tamborini in *Atti IV Congr. StR* I, 1938, 197ff and fig. VIII, 1; IX, 2; Becatti, *Mitrei Ostia*, 129 and Pl. XXXVIII, 2.

Muscular, robust torso, naked. Head, arms and legs lost. On the chest an

inscription (No. 320). The bust may originally have represented a Hercules and is perhaps transformed into a statue of a torchbearer or Sol later on.

According to a note in *BCR* 1939, 175 it is erroneously thought to originate from Rome or the Campagna.

320

CIL XIV 4307.

... Atil(ius) T(iti) f(ilius) P(alatina) Glyco/ [de]o invic(to) Mithr(ae) / d(onum) d(edit).

Palatina: Tamborini is reading *Polia* or *Papiria*.

Glyco: also known from Portus, *cf.* No. 325.

321

Grey marble relief (H. 1.11 Br. 2.18), found by the English painter Fagan at Quadraro near Ostia at the end of the 18th cent.

Walled in the Cortile of the Belvedere in the Vatican City. Formerly in two separate pieces, now joint.

Massi, *Ind. Ant.*, 211; Gerhard-Platner, 75 No. 567 and 126 n. 1; Lajard, *Intr.*, Pl. LXXVIII, 1; MMM II 212 No. 32 with fig. 40 and 245 No. 85 with fig. 78; Amelung, *Skulpt. Vat.*, I (4), 692 No. 569 and Taf. 74 and II (2), 309 No. 102 with Taf. 26; Paschetto, *Ostia*, 388 fig. 15; Saxl, 29 and fig. 84. See fig. 88 with kind permission of the Director of the Vatican Musea, Barone B. Nogara.

In a cave the representation of Mithras as a bullkiller in Eastern attire. The animal's tail is ending in three ears. On Mithras' flying cloak seven stars are visible; beside his head more stars are represented. The raven is perched on a branch; the other animals are on the usual places. Cautes (r) and Cautopates (l) in Eastern attire, cross-legged. Around the main scene several other representations are visible. Beginning above Cautes and then further on in a circle :

R i g h t

- 1) Mithras carries on his shoulders a bull which is still alive.
- 2) Standing Mithras crowns with his l.h. Sol, who is kneeling down in front of him and grasps Mithras' arm with his r.h. What Mithras holds down in his r.h. is not clear.
- 3) In the upper corner the head of Luna with crescent on her forehead.

L e f t

- 1) In the upper corner the bust of Sol in radiate crown and flying *chlamys*. Mithras looks back to him.
- 2) A tree with two branches, one of which only bears leaves. On the other the raven is perched.
- 3) A dagger sticking in the ground. Next to it a god is lying, wrapped in a mantle, which leaves the chest uncovered. Above his r.h. a *harpè* (Saturnus). He has pulled the cloak over his head. He leans his head in his l.h.

- 4) Another tree with two branches, one of which only bears leaves. From the other dangles a Phrygian cap.

On the relief numerous traces of red painting are preserved, especially on Mithras' and Cautopates' clothes.

PORTUS

322

Fragment of a marble vase, found near Portus by Prince Torlonia. Lost.

de Rossi in *BAC* 1866; *MMM* II 246f No. 85*bis*; Becatti, *Mithei Ostia*, 131 No. 8.

Underneath the inscription No. 323 a bearded(?) head in a radiate crown (Sol). Under it Cautes with upraised torch. Right of him certainly there was a Mithras-representation, which has got lost.

323

CIL XIV 55; *MMM* II No. 142.

Invicto deo S[oli].

324

Tegula in Portu reperta.

CIL XIV 4089, 7; *MMM* II No. 194.

Ex officin(a) L. Aemili Iuliani / Solis et Lunae / sac(er)do(tis).

325

Tabula marmorea reperta in Portu Romano fossibus Torloniae.

CIL XIV 286; *MMM* II No. 140.

Album sacrato[rum....]

Underneath the first column:

.. reus pater / ... [G]lycon / ... Rufus / ... [D]afinus ... Sinplicius / ...
Petrus / ... Crescentinus / ... Crescentio / ... Bictorus / ... Dafinus / ...
Feston / [S]erpentius / ... [A]pronianus / ... Alexander / ... Acuca.

Underneath the second column:

Tr... / Pet... / Pa... / Tr... / Ex... / Iu... / Me... / T... / Ro... /
Sa... / Se... / Ap... /

Between the two columns:

Leo fe[cit].

CASTEL GANDOLFO

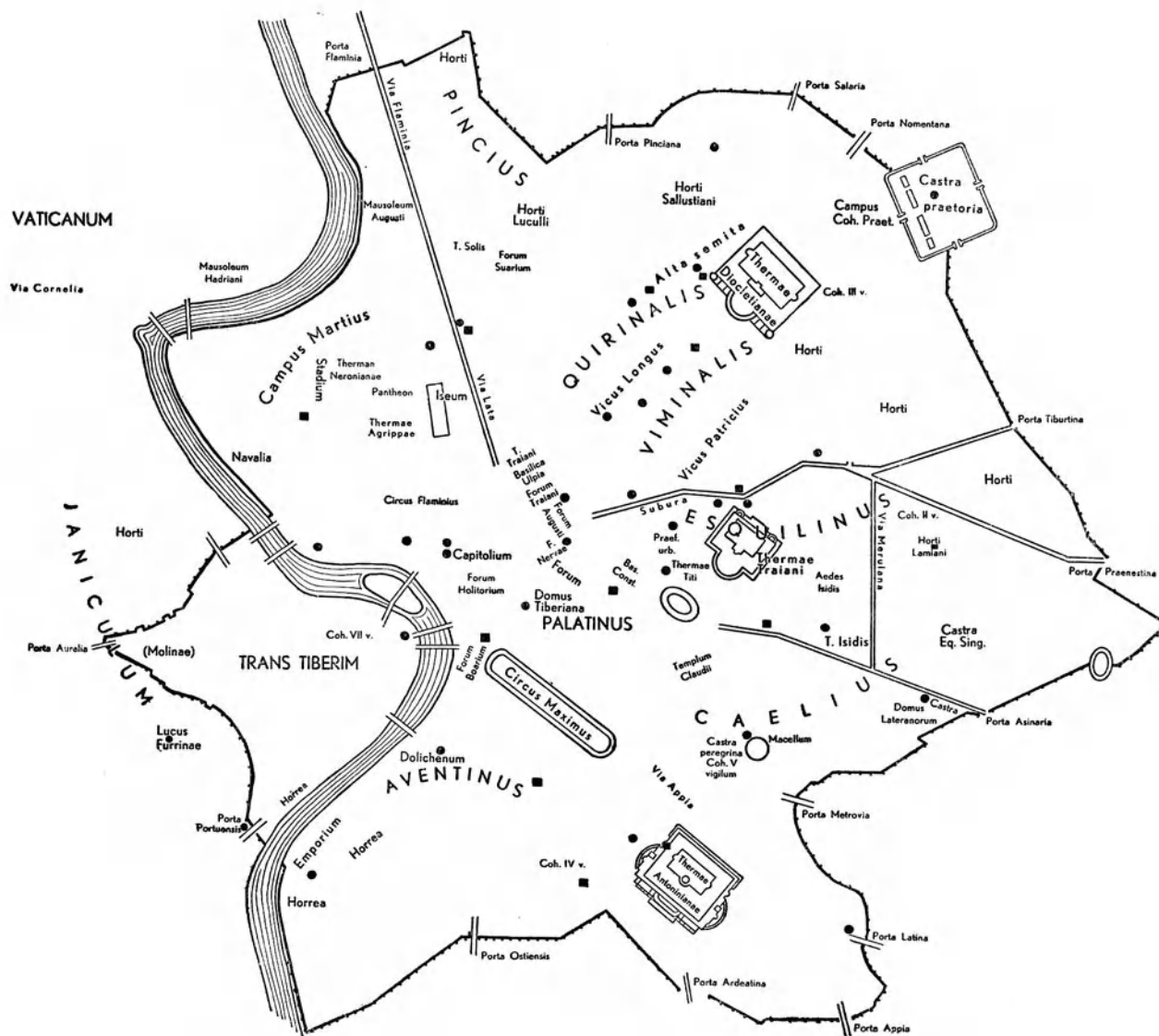
326

Marble statue (H. 0.68), found in 1933 when the Villa Barberini, partly situated on the ruins of the Alban Villa of Domitianus, was added to the papal country-residence. Castel Gandolfo.

Illustrazione Vaticana 1933, 579f; Brendel in *AA* 1933, 595ff No. 7 and fig. 8; van Buren, *Anc. Rome*, 144f and 162; Breccia, *Cronos mitriaco*, 263f; Pettazoni in *AntC* XVIII, 1949, 265ff and figs. Pl. III, 5/6. Our figs. 89 and 90 with kind permission of the Direction of the Vatican Musea.

Standing Aion before a throne. His body is covered with a loin-cloth only. He has a lion's head and four wings are attached to his shoulders. On his breast an eye, on stomach and knees lion's heads. He has four arms, the hands of which are broken off. In one hand a sceptre. Beside his feet a *hydra* and a horned(?) lion's head (r) and a sitting three-headed Cerberus (l). On either side a trunk entwined by a serpent. The left one is crawling upwards, the other lays its head above that of the Cerberus, consisting of a dog's, a lion's and ram's head.

ROMA



- Mithraic temples
- Other Mithraic monuments

MONUMENTS THE EXACT FIND-SPOTS OF WHICH ARE KNOWN

ROMA (Reg. II)

327

On the Caelius a Mithraeum seems to have existed on the spot where nowadays the Piazza della Navicella is situated, or in its immediate surroundings (*cf.* Colini, *Storia Celio*, 48). Here in May 1555 the two following monuments were discovered, dug up by Girolamo Altieri "in area Divae Mariae semper Virginis in Coelio monte cognomento in Domnica" (*cf.* B. Aegius in a note to the Bibliotheca of Apollodorus, *f.* 1, 2.1; see CIL VI 81). These monuments were transported to the Palazzo Altieri al Gesù and were copied here by Pighius (Bibl. Berl. *ms. lat.* A 61 *f.* 9) and by Giovantonio Dosio (*cf.* Huelsen in *Ausonia* VII, 1912, 24 who prints these copies after folio's from the Bibliotheca Marucelliana at Florence, *ms.* 100 *fol.* 150a and 148).

Of the Mithraeum itself nothing has been preserved; through excavations "nella Cava alla Navicella" in 1771 blocks of travertine came to light (Colini, 236).

328

A relief, now lost.

Jahn, *Codex Pighianus*, 184 No. 82; Aegius, *Ms. Vat.*, 5241 *f.* 118; MMM II 233f No. 71bis, *a* with fig. 65; Vermaseren in *Vigiliae Christianae* IV, 1950, 143; *Mithrasdienst in Rome*, 58f.

The relief is in white marble and divided into two parts. Above a *tabula* in which an inscription No. 329, three gods are seated in a row. In the centre Jupiter with naked torso; in his r.h. he holds a thunderbolt and next to his r. foot an eagle is perched. On his left sits Juno, entirely dressed; she holds a long staff. On the other side Minerva, with the *aegis* on her breast. In her l.h. a lance and her r.h. touches the helmet. By her side an owl. The upper part of the relief is broken off, so that Minerva has been preserved as far as her neck, Jupiter up to his breast and Juno as far as her hips.

329

CIL VI 81; MMM No. 59.

Optumus maximus / Caelus aeternus Iup[i]/ter Iunoni Reginae / Minervae iussus liben[s] / dedit pro salutem suam / M(arcus) Modius Agatho et pr[o] / Fausti patroni hominis s(ancti?) / et Helpidis suae s(anctae?) cum s[uis].

330

This monument may be compared to a small marble base, seen by Smetius in Rome in the 16th century "in domo Iordani Ruchabellae ad S. Laurentium in Damaso ad Campum Florae" (MMM II 414 No. 293). The base, on which a representation of Minerva and a lying water-god, probably supported a statue of Jupiter. The inscription on the front is worth mentioning:

331

CIL VI 404; MMM II No. 554.

Iovi optimo maximo / caelestino fontibus et / Minervae et collegio / sanctissimo quod consis/tit in praedis Larci / Macedonis. / In curia / Flavius Successus cum suis.

This inscription may refer to a Mithras-community.

332

Three fragments of a white marble relief. Lost.

MMM II 234f No. 71*bis*, *b* and fig. 66.

- 1) Standing, naked Jupiter, holding his sceptre in his l.h. and his thunderbolt in his r.h. He stands on a base, on which his *chlamys* lies. Beside him an eagle with his wings spread out, looking up to him. Before the base stands a naked youth in Phrygian cap, lifting a torch with his outstretched r.h.; in his outstretched l.h. a bird (cock?) is perched. In the field an inscr. No. 333, 1.
- 2) Sol, dressed only in a flying shoulder-cape, stands in a *quadriga*, urging on the horses with a whip. On his head a radiate crown. The hindmost part of the horses and part of the wheel have got lost. Above it the inscr. No. 333, 2.
- 3) Luna, of whom only a few traces are left, stands in a chariot drawn by two horses. In the field remnants of the inscr. No. 333, 3.

333

CIL VI 82; MMM II No. 60.

- 1) [Domi]no sanct[o / o]ptimo maxim[o / sa]lutari iussu eius / libens dedit / [M(arcus)] Modius Ag/[atho] cum / [suis pro Faus]to / pat[rono].
- 2) Dedit M. Modius [Agatho] / sancto domino / invicto Mithrae / iussu eius libens / dedit.
- 3) [Lunae... / M.] M[od]/ius [Aga]/tho [cum] / suis permissu

334

White marble relief (H. 0.93 Br. 0.74 D. 0.28). About its exact origin we can only make suppositions. We know for sure that Rome is the provenance of the relief, which for the last few centuries has been kept in the Casino of the Villa Altieri, which is next to the mansion of the Villefranche family, Viale Manzoni 41, where it is to be found nowadays.

Codex Coburgensis, 450, 55; Augustinus, *Gemmae*, Pl. II; Hyde, *Vet. Pers. Hist.*, 1, Tab. I; Dupuis, *Origine*, III, 42 Tab. 17, 3; Drummond, *Oed. Jud.*, Pl. XII, 1; de Montfaucon, *Ant. Expl.*, 1 (2) Suppl. 226 and Pl. 82, 1; Gruterus, *Inscr.*, I, XXXIV No. 7; Zoega, *Abh.*, 149 No. 20 and 160f; Lajard, *Intr.*, Pl. 74 fig. 51; Matz-v. Duhn, III, 141 No. 3755; MMM II 220f No. 54 and fig. 51; RRR III 157, 2; Forrer, *MH*, 115 fig. 78; Leipoldt, No. 21; Saxl, *Taf. I*, 6; Vermaseren in *Vigiliae Christianae* IV, 1950, 142ff and fig. 1; *Mithrasdienst in Rome*, 22f and Pl. I. See fig. 91 with kind permission of Marchesa G. de Villefranche.

The monument is concave in form and the back has been worked roughly. Also the front and especially the niche-like background, against which Mithras stands out triumphantly is rough and rocky.

The god is standing on top of the felled beast, which is dying in a convulsive agony. Mithras puts his r. foot victoriously on the square bull's head. The god is dressed in Eastern attire consisting of the Phrygian cap with two hanging ribbons, a tunic, mantle and long *anaxyrides*. With his upraised r.h. he grasps a dagger and in the other he holds a globe.

The bull's attitude is towards the left; the dog and the snake turn their heads towards the bull's chest, no scorpion at the testicles. The ears, which sometimes shoot up from the bull's tail and blood, are used here as a frame on the margins of the relief together with two palm-trees which are placed on either side under the ears.

In the upper corners the busts of Sol and Luna. Sol is dressed in a short cape and his long hair is surrounded by a nimbus and seven rays. Luna wears a diadem in her hair; a crescent rises from behind her shoulders.

Right underneath the bust of Sol a lion appears from a den. Below the lion stands the raven looking at Mithras. Next to him a scorpion and under the bird standing Cautes, not cross-legged, with upraised torch in both hands.

Under Luna's bust a standing crowing cock to the right; underneath it a sitting, mourning Cautopates who points his flamed torch downwards. Above his Phrygian cap an ant.

335

Marble relief, formerly in the house of Ottavio Zeno near the Theatre of Pompejus. Lost.

Jahn, *Codex Pighianus*, 190 No. 71; Lafréri, *Spec. Magn.*, gives a fig.; Camerarius, *Re rust.*, 26ff and fig.; Marliani, *Topogr.*, 152; H. Ferrutius (Ferveci), who completed Marliani's work, speaks about a marble relief and not of a terracotta one. Franz Cumont communicated us, that already Michaelis draw his attention to the fact, that the oldest descriptions are mostly speaking of a marble relief and that the possessor was not called Ottavio Zeni but Ottavio Zeno. Beger, *Spicilegium*, III, 97, XXI; de Montfaucon, *Ant. Expl.*,

I (2), 373f and Pl. 215, 4; *Hieroglyphicorum collectanea ex veteribus et neotericis descripta, Johannis Pierii libris addita*, Colonia Agrippinae 1631, f. 24f; Cartari, *Im.*, 294; Gronovius, *Gemmae et Sculpturae*, I fig. 1; Turre, *Mon. Vet. Antii*, 161; Hyde, *Vet. Pers. Hist.*, 113; v. Dale, *Dissertationes*², 17 (fig.); Dupuis, *Origine*, Pl. 17, 4; Drummond, *Oed. Jud.*, fig. 13, 2; Romanelli, *Isola Capri*, fig.; Zoega, *Abh.*, 150 No. 26; Seel, *Mithrasgeh.*, 238ff and Taf. IX; Müller, *Mithras*, fig. 1; Eichhorn, *de deo Sole*, fig. 5; Hammer, *Mithriaca*, 78ff with Pl. II; Lajard, *Intr.*, Pl. LXXXIX; *Culte de Vénus*, 212 and Pl. XVI; *Basrelief Transsylv.*, Pl. VI; MMM II 231ff No. 70 with fig. 63; Pesce in *Bull. SRAA* 1939, 246 and fig. 11; Vermaseren, *Mithrasdienst in Rome*, 56ff. See figs. 92 and 93.

Mithras slaying the bull, whose tail is ending in two ears. The god wears a broad belt around his chest and he carries the dagger-sheath at his side. The dog with collar near the wound; a serpent creeps over the ground; the scorpion grasps the genitals; a lion lies on the ground; the raven is perched above Mithras' flying cloak. On either side of this scene a tree is represented. Behind the bull a fruit-bearing tree. A scorpion is creeping up against it; at the foot of the trunk a torch is sticking in the ground. At the other side a tree with heavy foliage, at which an upraised torch as well as a bull's head are attached.

On the upper rim of the relief seven burning altars alternate with six daggers in holders. In the centre of it stands a naked figure with two wings on the shoulders (Aion). With his upraised l.h. he holds a staff, entwined four times by a serpent. On the left side next to the altars a similar figure is standing, but without wings and staff.

In the left corner a representation of Sol in radiate crown. He stands in a *quadriga* with rearing horses. In the r. corner stands Luna, bending forward in a *biga*, which is in descending direction. Behind the goddess' head a crescent.

Colini, *Storia Celio*, 48 likes to identify "a Mithras-relief and two small marble tablets with torchbearers", with our monument. Aldrovandi, *Le Statue di Roma*, 280 (quoted by Colini, 236 n. 3) describes this relief as following: "una tavola marmorea dove di mezzo rilievo è un huomo che amazza un toro et un cane morde il toro, un serpe li punge un ginocchio, uno scorpione i testicoli; sono poi a piè di un albero uno scorpione, una face, e la testa di un toro; dalla parte di dietro è una colomba, di sopra è il sole e la luna con molti altri vaghi ornamenti; è una delle belle sculpture in marmo che in tutta Roma si vegga".

The relief is said to have been "in casa di Ascanio Magarozzi presso Torre de 'Conti' " and to originate from "sua vigna sul monte Celio presso a S. Stefano".

The description by Aldrovandi does indeed show a striking resemblance with the monument of Ottavio Zeno, who therefore must have possessed it later on. We believe, that Colini's identification is correct and this supplies us at the same time with some data about the "due tavolette marmoree" with the representation of the torchbearers, about whom Aldrovandi speaks and of whom we see the

representations next to the drawings of this Mithras-relief. They have come from the Caelius and were also in the possession of Ascanio Magarozzi. We believe to have found these reliefs again in the Louvre Museum, where they had been walled into a base of a statue of Pan (Inv. No. 287). When they were fixed, is not exactly known, but they were in the Louvre at the time of Clarac (*Mus. Sculpt.*, II Pl. 184 No. 506; cf. Zoega, *Abh.*, 148 No. 12; MMM II 482 No. 58^{ter} and figs. 416–417). By the kind permission of Pierre Devambez, Keeper of the Louvre, we had a photograph of the two torchbearers made in the same formation in which they are represented on the drawings. They are two marble reliefs (H. 0.33–0.35 Br. 0.18–0.20 D. 0.06–0.08) with the torchbearers in Eastern attire and cross-legged. They hold the torch with both hands. Froehner, *Sculpt. du Louvre*, No. 431 identifies them already with the left part of the relief of Ottavio Zeno and the photograph confirms this.

The height of the relief with Mithras slaying the bull must have been 0.68; all the monuments together might have belonged to one and the same Mithraeum.

336

CIL VI 86; MMM II No. 26. In monte Celiolo in marmo trovato anno 1731.

Deo Caute / Flavius Antistianus / v(ir) e(gregius) de decem primis pater patrum.

ROMA (*Reg.* III)

337

Wall-painting, discovered in the Casa di Tito “22 genare 1668 vicine il Colosseo” (*Holk.*, II, 36).

In the beginning of the 18th century Topham made a number of aquarels, which were afterwards collected in five volumes and presented by him to Eton College. One of them represents our fresco (*Eton*, II No. 19). Another reproduction slightly deviating, however, (the reclining figure has been left out and the raven flies over Mithras' head) is given by *Codex Nettuno*, f. 156 (cf. *Windsor Castle Library*, vol. 175 No. 11405). Finally two volumes with paintings are preserved at Holkham Hall, which also contains the painting discussed here (*Holk.*, II, 36). Turnbull, *Painting*, Pl. 9; Lanciani in *BCR* 1895, 178f; Ashby in *PapBrSR* VII, 1911, 19 No. 19; *RM* XI, 218; RRP 29, 1; MM, 230. See fig. 94.

In the centre Mithras in diadem, radiate crown and nimbus is slaying the bull, represented as a sea-animal, whereas the god himself has the appearance of Europa. The bull is sitting on his hind-legs and his fore-legs are lifted. The serpent is creeping to the left. Behind the scene stand Cautes, cross-legged, dressed in a long cloak only and in a Phrygian cap. On the other side a naked figure in long hair and beard lies on the ground. In his left hand he holds an oar over his shoulder and with his r.h. he empties a vessel of water (Oceanus). In the clouds over his head Sol is seen, with radiate crown on his head, in a *quadriga*. He raises both hands and holds a globe in his l.h. A little black bird (raven?) behind him.

338

In 1867 a Mithraeum was discovered in a notable Roman house, situated under the Basilica S. Clemente. As a continuous flow of water made further investigations impossible in the beginning, the excavations could only be continued in 1914 after the construction of a water-tunnel. During the last few decades the house has been examined more closely by E. Junyent.

de Rossi in *BAC* 1870, 129ff; Gori in *Il Buonarroti*, 1870, 289ff; Roller in *RA* XXIV–XXV, 1872–3, 216ff; MMM II 203ff No. 19; Nolan, *Tunnel*; idem, *Bas. S. Clemente*; Roscher, *Myth. Lex.*, 3059f and fig. 8; Cantarelli in *BCR* XLIII, 1916, 69f; Kirsch, *Titelkirchen*, 36ff; Cumont in *CRAI* 1915, 203ff; Lugli, *Mon. Ant.*, III, 542ff; Junyent in *RAC* V, 1928, 231ff; *S. Clemente*; idem in *RAC* XV, 1938, 147ff; Deichmann in *RM* 58, 1943, 153ff; Cecchelli, *S. Clemente*, 158ff with ample bibl.; Leipoldt, V, and fig. 7; Turchi, *RRA*, Tav. XXIV, 1; Krautheimer in *CBCR*, 121ff; Vermaseren in *MedNHIR* (R. 3) VI, 1950, CIIIf and Pls I–III; *De Mithrasdienst in Rome*, 70ff. See figs. 95 and 96 a, b.

One enters the Mithraeum (L. 9.60 Br. 6.00) after descending a number of stairs and passing through a room in front of it. Then comes the actual entry (Br. 1.50), which was constructed in later times when the Mithraeum was built. It shows the usual division into a plastered central aisle (Br. 2.15) and two benches, sloping towards the walls. They can be ascended at the front via two steps. The left bench (H. 0.82 Br. 1.64) begins at 1.05 mtrs from the entrance and runs on as far as the cult niche. The r. bench (H. 0.84 Br. 1.60) however, stops at a distance of about 1 mtr from the niche and forms here a narrow passage, which is partitioned off by a wall which has been built against the bench itself (H. 1.60). There is a similar wall on the other side of the bench near the entrance. By this partition a separate room, a kind of niche had been made. Along the front of the two benches there runs a wide rim (Br. 0.30), which is relieved by five semi-circular recesses (diam. 0.35), three on the r. side and two on the left. On a distance of 3 mtrs from the cult-niche, there is in both benches on floor-level a deep hole (H. 0.35–0.40 Br. 0.27 D. 0.60).

The cult-niche is connected to the left bench and can be ascended on this side via one step. The niche (H. 0.97 D. 0.75) is arched and was formerly decorated with mosaic. In front of this niche on the floor of the central aisle there were three bases in a row. The first one was hollow and could be covered by a terracotta lid, the second one was square as well but smaller (H. 0.52 Br. .040 D. 0.44) and the third one was of a still smaller size and round (H. 0.20 diam. 0.30).

In the arched roof of the sanctuary there are eleven holes, which are partly oblong, partly round and are encircled by a small strip of mosaic. The four oblong holes may have served as ventilators or for illumination; the remaining seven round holes may be explained in connection with the seven planets.

In the already mentioned room next to the entrance there are a well and two oblong tombs. Opposite the entrance to the Mithraeum there is an irregularly built

apartment, which is formed by three arches, supported by pillars with Corinthian capitals. Along the walls of this apartment there are small benches. Via two passages one enters an adjoining apartment, the floor of which is covered with mosaic and the arched roof of which is decorated with stucco and rosettes (L. 5.80 Br. 4.75). Along three walls of it there are small benches (H. 0.33 Br. 0.35) and in the side-walls seven niches of various sizes have been hewn out. Between these niches on the walls one can still see the traces of a mural, which probably dates from the time that this room served as an *apodyterium* of the private bath of the house. In two of the niches figures have been engraved, which may be explained as a Nereid on a sea-monster, and as the figure of a Naiade.

Nolan wanted to bring this room with its seven niches, which should point to a worship of the planets, in connection with the Mithrascult, but this is not quite certain.

339

Altar of Parian marble (H. 1.12 Br. 0.63), discovered partly in the sanctuary itself, partly in the irregular room opposite the Mithraeum. Kept in the *spelaeum*. See fig. 97.

The altar has been decorated with reliefs on four sides. In the front side Mithras is slaying the bull in a grotto. Dog and serpent with their heads near the wound; scorpion on the usual place. The god is looking at the raven perched on the rock-border. In the upper corners the dressed busts of Sol with seven rays around his head, and of Luna. On the left side Cautopates in Eastern attire, not cross-legged. On the r. side standing Cautes who lifts his torch with both hands. On the back a big, twisting serpent. The upper part of the altar consists of a square marble plate with on the front side an inscription between a palm-branch and crown. On the four corners the busts of the wind-gods, one of which has got lost. The bust of Luna is damaged.

340

L.H. 0.02–0.03.

Cn(aeus) Arrius Claudianus / pater posuit.

Claudianus is a *libertus* or descends from the *Arrii*-family, to which belonged also the Emperor Antoninus Pius of mother's side. "Si Claudianus n'a pas dû son nom illustre à un affranchissement, on supposera avec une grande vraisemblance que le *gens Arria* possédait sous les Antonins la maison de l'époque d'Auguste" (Cumont). Dr C. C. van Essen however, draws my attention on the fact, that the house was built on the layers of the fire of Nero.

341

Marble *cippus*, of which two sides only have been preserved (H. 0.40 Br. 0.37). On the front-side an inscr.:

MMM II No. 64.

L.H. 0.03.

Caute / sacrum.

342

Fragments of two torchbearers (MMM II No. 19*d*).

343

Marble bust, kept in the sanctuary in the niche near the entrance.

Bust of Sol with five holes in the curly hair, in which rays had been fixed. The point of the nose is restored.

344

Marble statue (H. 0.63), kept in the Mithraeum.

Besides the already mentioned bibl.: Maionica, *Felsengeburt*, No. VI; Cecchelli in *Roma*, 1941, Tav. XIX, 1.

The youthful, naked Mithras emerges from a rocky stone. He is visible from the knees. He wears a Phrygian cap. The fore-parts of his arms are broken off.

345

In the irregular room opposite the sanctuary, the so-called *Dominicum Clementis*, a marble statuette, representing a bearded person as the good Shepherd was found. It definitely is a representation of S. Peter and not of a father of the mysteries, as Nolan thought.

346

In the room left to the entrance of the Mithraeum, there is a well, from which water runs through a pipe, which penetrates the wall and empties in a square basin. From there it could run away. Near this well two oblong tombs of brickwork were found. One of them was filled with all kinds of refuse and contained among other things a great number of animal-bones. Numerous are the bones of swine.

347

Fragmentum tabulae marmoreae effossum anno 1870 vel 1871 prope Mithraeum sub aede S. Clementis eruderatum.

CIL VI 3725.

[Pro salute / T. Aeli Antoni/ni] Aug(usti) e[t M(arci) Aeli / Au]reli Caes(aris) et / [L. Aur(el)i C]ommodi fil(iorum) / [Ael(ius?)] Sabinus c[enturio] leg(ionis) . . . / [Sol?]i v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

348

Duo fragmenta marmorea facile eiusdem lapidis litteris detritis in ecclesiae pavimento inserta.

CIL VI 31030.

1) 1. / so[li . . .] / invicto [Mi]/trhe sal[utari]

- 2) [Iovi] Do[I]ic(heno) aug(usto) / [fe]/cit Pius I.. V... / et L. Cattius C... / sacerdos v.....

349

On the Esquiline, where in Antiquity the Imperial gardens were situated (Actually Piazza Dante), the following four Mithraic representations were found. They lay in a room (L. 20.00 Br. 6.00), perhaps a Mithraeum, and were carefully covered by tiles. The room has a floor covering of white mosaic and was formerly arched.

350

Relief in limestone (H. 1.25 Br. 0.90 D. 0.085). Museo Capitolino.

C. L. Visconti in *BCM* 1874, 224 ff and Pl. XX; Lanciani, *Rome*, 166; *MMM* II 200ff and fig. 26; Saxl, 30f and figs. 85, 90 (points at Egyptian influence).

See fig. 98.

The relief is worked as an engraving. Mithras in Eastern attire with a sheath at his side, kills in a cave the bull whose tail ends in ears. Two strips on its body seem to indicate a large band. The dog with collar near the wound; the serpent creeps over the ground; the scorpion at the testicles. Near the cave on each side a tree; the raven is perched on the branches of the left one. On either side of the main scene Cautes (r) and Cautopates (l) in Eastern attire; cross-legged.

In the l. upper corner the dressed bust of Sol with seven rays, one of which is darting out in the direction of Mithras; in the other corner the dressed bust of Luna in crescent. Underneath each of them another bust (Dioscuri?).

Below the main scene in the lower corners, two scenes:

- 1) Left: Mithras stands before the kneeling, naked Sol and lays his left on the latter's head. In his right, near his sheath, he holds a knife. Sol stretches out one arm and with the other he clasps one of Mithras' legs.
- 2) Right: Mithras and a dressed, bearded figure on either side of an altar, above which the latter holds the r.h. Mithras hold the latter's wrist and keeps the knife near it as though he wanted to cut it (blood-alliance?).

Between these two scenes an inscription:

351

CIL VI 3730; *MMM* II No. 43.

C(auto)p(ati) / Primus pater fecit.

On the relief numerous traces of colours have been preserved: the cave: dark-red; the attire of Mithras, the torchbearers and Sol: purple; the trousers of the torchbearers and of Mithras: yellow; Luna and the two small busts: yellow; Sol's crown and Mithras' dagger: gold; the raven: black; hair-dress: red-brown.

352

White marble statue (H. 0.88 Br. 0.78). Museo Capitolino.

Visconti in *BCM* 1874, Pl. XXI; Lanciani, *Rome*, 193; MMM II 202 No. 17 and fig. 27; RRS II 477, 1; Saxl, 46 and fig. 134. See fig. 99.

Mithras, looking upwards, slaying the bull. On the base a creeping serpent; the other animals are missing. The god's r.h. with the dagger, and his cloak are not preserved; a part of the bull's tail got lost.

353

Square marble relief (H. 0.29 Br. 0.29 D. 0.03). Palazzo Conservatori, Inv. No. 2327. Probably 4th cent. A.D.

Visconti, *l.c.*, 211 and Pl. XXI, 2; Lanciani, *o.c.*, 167; Maionica, *Felsengeburt*, No. IV; MMM II 203 No. 18 and fig. 28; Roscher, *Myth. Lex.*, s.v. *Mithras*, 3046 and fig. 4; RRR III, 1956; Gressmann, *Or. Rel.*, 154 fig. 58. See fig. 100.

Mithras' birth from the rock; visible from the knees. The youthful god is in Phrygian cap; a knife in his upraised r.h.; a flaming torch in the l.h.

354

Marble relief (H. 0.29 Br. 0.25 D. 0.03, originally square). Palazzo Conservatori, Inv. No. 2326.

Visconti, 241 and Pl. XXI, 3; Lanciani, 168; Maionica, No. IV; MMM fig. 29; RRR III, 195, 4; Saxl, 31 and fig. 88. See fig. 101.

Upper part of Sol's body in tunic and *chlamys*. Around his head an aureole and seven rays. He raises his r.h., with the palm turned full front. In his l.h. he carries a globe, behind which a whip.

On the reverse of both reliefs an inscription:

355

C(auto)p(ati) Primus pater fecit.

356

On the Esquiline (Via S. Giovanni Lanza 128) a Mithraeum was discovered near the Church of S. Martino ai Monti in 1883.

C. L. Visconti in *BCM* XIII, 1885, 27ff and Pls IV-V; Lanciani-Borsari in *NSc* 1885, 67, 154; Lanciani, *Rome*, 191, fig.; MMM II 199f No. 15 and fig. 25; Jordan, *Top. Rom.*, I (3), 316f.

In a house from the time of Constantine or a little earlier, a *Lararium* was found with a statue of Isis-Fortuna and smaller statuettes of Sarapis, Jupiter, Hekate, Venus, Mars, Hercules and others. A door next to it opens on a lower room, which served as a Mithraeum. Via two flights of seven and nine steps, separated by a landing, one descends into it. On either side of this landing there is a niche in the wall, in which the two statues of Cautopates (I) (see below). In the r. niche

traces of red-paint. The sanctuary itself consists of a small, arched room (L. 3.70 Br. 2.43). In one of the side-walls a marble slab has been fixed (L. 1.23 Br. 0.36), which is supported by two brackets, which are decorated by leaf-work. On this slab we see a marble Mithrasrelief (see below). Moreover there were some small vases (diam. 0.10) and the remnants of seven torches of fair-wood, which were covered with tar. Underneath the slab on the floor stood a square column with an upturned Ionian capital. The whole probably served as an altar. In the wall several small niches have been hewn out. Four of them, two arched and two square ones, are on the left between the entrance and the cult-niche, two more below the marble slab and two to the left of it, and finally one more in the opposite wall. They probably contained the lamps.

357

White marble relief (H. 0.325 Br. 0.44 D. 0.03–0.08), in the Mus. Capitolino together with the two following Nos. See fig. 102.

Under an arch, Mithras slaying the bull, whose tail ends in one ear. The serpent, the dog and the scorpion are present. The god is dressed in short tunic and *anaxyrides*; he is looking at the raven and at Sol, who has five rays around his head. In the r. upper corner the head of Luna in a crescent. It is kept down to the right.

358

White marble statue (H. 0.34 Br. base 0.16). See fig. 103.

Standing torchbearer in Eastern attire, cross-legged. At his feet a trunk. The r. arm and the greater part of the torch are broken off. Cautopates.

359

White marble statue (H. 0.25 Br. 0.11). See fig. 104.

Standing Cautopates in the same attire and attitude. Next to his feet a trunk and r. an owl. The r. arm and head got lost.

360

In ecclesia S. Martini in Montibus, ara rotunda sertis a cranis bubulis dependentibus circumdata.

CIL VI 733; MMM II No. 61.

Deo Soli invicto Mitrhe(*sic!*) / Fl. Septimius Zosimus v(ir) p(erfectissimus) / sacerdos(*sic!*) dei Brontontis et Aecate hoc speleum, constituit.

361

Pars superior parvae columnae marmoreae litteris saeculi secundi exeuntis vel tertii effossa ut videtur in Esquilino.

CIL VI 3728; 31046; MMM II No. 58.

S[oli] i(nvicto) M(ithrae) / et sodalicio eius / actores de foro suario / quorum nomina / [sequuntur]....

362

Ara reperta in Esquiliis ad aedem DD. Petri et Marcellini.

CIL VI 732; MMM II No. 66.

Soli / invicto Mithrae / T. Flavius Aug(usti) lib(ertus) Hyginus / Ephebianus / d(onum) d(edit).

Kaibel, *ISI*, 996.

Ἡλίω Μίθραι / Τ(ίτος) Φλάουιος Ὑγεῖνος / διὰ Λολλίου Ρούφου / πατρὸς ἰδίου.

For the double cognomen, that should date from the time before Hadrian, see: Hülsen in *Bull. Ist.* 1888, 232; *RM* III, 222ff and our No. 496.

ἰδίου added in order to preclude confusion with the grade of *pater*.

363

“Parte inferiore di un fusto di candelabro a guisa di tronco di palma uscente da un nascimento di foglie d’acanto; nel plinto in tre lati la iscrizione” (Lanciani in *BAM* 1875, 248).

Effossa inter eccl. SS Eusebii et Viti.

CIL VI 3722; 31037; MMM II No. 73.

T. Aelius Iustus / invicto Mithrae / d(onum) d(edit).

ROMA (*Reg.* IV)

364

The left lower corner of a relief (H. 0.27 Br. 0.24 D. 0.08), discovered near S. Pietro in Vincoli “nelle cantine della reale scuola d’applicazione degli ingegneri”. Actual owner unknown.

Ricci in *BCR* 1891, 205 No. 6; MMM II 480 No. 19*bis*.

Of the representation of Mithras as a bullkiller, only the bull’s hind-quarter, pressed down by the god, the scorpion, the serpent and the lower part of the left torchbearer have been preserved.

On the lower rim an inscription:

365

CIL VI 31050; MMM II No. 76*b*.

D(eo) S(oli) i(nvicto) Tib(erius)...

366

Relief of travertine (H. 0.90 Br. 1.81 D. 0.11), found along the Via di Borgo S. Agata in 1862. Museo Capitolino, Inv. No. 1204.

Brunn in *Bull. Ist.* 1862, 150ff; C. L. Visconti in *Ann. Ist.* 1864, 177ff and Pl. N; MMM II 199 No. 14 and fig. 24; Stuart Jones, *Sculpt. Pal. Cons.*, Sc. V, 5 and Pl. 101; Santangelo, *Quirinale*, 144. See fig. 105 with kind permission of our friend Dr C. Pietrangeli.

Mithras slaying the bull, whose tail is ending in ears. Round the bull’s body

a band. The dog, the serpent and the scorpion on the usual places. Behind this scene a large tree, behind which a rocky part with the raven, starting in the direction of Mithras. Cautes (r) and Cautopates (l) in Eastern attire, not cross-legged. They hold their torches with both hands.

In the l. upper corner the dressed bust of Sol in radiate crown; one of the rays darts into the direction of the Persian god, who is looking at it. On the other corner the dressed bust of Luna with a crescent behind her shoulders.

On the upper border an inscription:

367

CIL VI 737; 30824; MMM II No. 45.

Deo sancto Mi(thrae) sacra this d(onum) p(osuerunt) Placidus, Marcellinus leo antistes et Guntha leo.

368

White marble relief (H. 0.88 Br. 1.20), found on the Esquiline near S. Lucia in Selce. Vatican Musea, Mus. Chiaramonti, XIV, 1.

Zoega, *Abh.*, 150 No. 26*b* and 172*f*; Gerhard-Platner, 75 No. 566; Lajard, *Intr.*, Pl. LXXIX, 2; MMM II 199 No. 13 and fig. 23; Amelung, *Skulpt. Vat.*, I (1), 691 No. 368 and Taf. 74. See fig. 106, procured by the Director of the Vatican Musea Dr. Barone Bartolomeo Nogara.

In a grotto Mithras slaying the bull, whose tail ends in three ears. The god is looking at the raven, which is flying into his direction. The dog and the serpent with their heads near the blood from the wound; the scorpion on the usual place. Beside Mithras' head seven stars, four on the left side, three on the right. On either side a torchbearer in Eastern dress, cross-legged. They point with both hands their flamed torches downwards.

In the upper corners the dressed busts of Sol (l) and of Luna (r). Sol has an aureole and a crown of eleven rays. Above it a star is visible. Luna has a crescent on her head.

On the top of the cave there are seven trees in a row with six burning altars between them. At the entrance of the cave, below the serpent, seven burning altars, the outermost of which are round in contradistinction to the others.

Supplied: the l. torchbearer; the l.h. and the end of the torch of the other torchbearer; ears of the bull's tail; part of the field with two stars above the bull's head.

ROMA (*Reg. V*)

369

"Ara triangularis marmorea qua basis rotunda sustinetur." Mus. Vaticano, Gall. Lap.

Inventa anno 1655 ad radices Esquiliarum.

On the base we see traces, where a statue had been attached. Furthermore the inscription:

CIL VI 47; MMM II No. 27.

D(eo) Arimanio / Agrestius v(ir) c(larissimus) / defensor / magister et / pater patrum / voti c(ompos) d(at).

370

White marble statue (H. 1.29 Br. 1.30 base), found "pochi metri della Scala Santa" (Visconti) about 1853. Rome, Mus. Lateran, Inv. No. 343.

Visconti in *Giornale di Roma*, 14th Nov. 1853; Braun, *Ruinen Roms*, 749 No. 21; Benndorf-Schoene, 117 No. 199; MMM II 206 No. 20; Helbig, *Führer*, II, 12 No. 1163 (391); Colini, *Celio*, 48 and 363; Anderson, No. 26376 (see fig. 107).

Mithras as a bullkiller. The bull's tail ends in five ears. Beside the god's r. leg the sheath. The dog and the serpent near the wound; the scorpion on the usual place.

371

At the same time as the No. 370 a marble head of Marcus Aurelius was found.

372

Marble relief (H. 0.43 Br. 0.85 D. 0.065), of which the left lower corner is missing. Found in the camp of the *equites singulares* near the Scala Santa. Rome, Mus. Naz. Terme, Inv. No. 78197.

Domaszewski, *Rel. Heer.*, 64 No. 134 and Taf. III, 5; Cook, *Zeus*, I, 610, fig. 479; Demircioğlu, *Gott Stier*, No. 166; Kan, *Jup. Dol.*, 116 No. 199 and Taf. XIII, 20; Merlat, *Rép. Jup. Dol.*, 233 No. 239.

The dressed bust of Sol with five rays around his curly head. Right of him the dressed bust of a long-bearded man. Between them Luna's head with a crescent. Two stars. In the r. corner the inscription:

373

CIL VI 31181.

L.H. 0.013.

Soli invicto / pro salute imp(eratorum) / et genio n(umeri) / eq(uitum) sing(ularium) / eorum M. Ulp(ius) / Chresimus sace[rd(os)] / Iovis Dolich[eni] / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) l(aetus) [m(erito)].

The dedicators are mentioned also in CIL VI 31187. The monument was found together with another dedication to Jupiter Dolichenus (CIL VI 31172; Kan, *o.c.*, No. 198). Therefore it is not likely that the monument was dedicated to Mithras. About the connections between the both gods: Vermaseren, *Mithrasdienst in Rome*, 106f.

374

Marble statue (H. 0.85 Br. 1.10), found near the Viale Latino, about 200 mtrs from the Porta S. Giovanni. Mus. Capitolino. End of the 2nd cent. A.D.

Gatti in *BCR* LIII, 1925, 301ff and fig. 5. See fig. 108.

On a rocky base the statue of Mithras as a bullkiller. The serpent with its head near the wound; the scorpion at the testicles; of the dog only traces of its feet are visible. Mithras' head and both arms as well as the bull's head and tail have got lost. Traces of gilt have been preserved on the band, which the bull wears round the body, and also on the tunic of the god.

ROMA (*Reg.* VI)

375

A low-relief of Mithras tauroctone was found in 1928 by the Comtesse de Robilant in a cellar, full of the debris of the Palazzo del Grillo behind the Forum of Augustus. When we studied it, it had been walled into a wall of the palace-garden.

It is a white marble slab (H. 0.70 Br. 0.50 D. 0.06). The right part of a representation of Mithras tauroctone, of which only the foremost part of the bull's body has been preserved. Before the bull Cautes with upraised torch. In the upper corner the bust of Luna. Mediocre work. Franz Cumont pointed us at this relief.

376

Fragmentum tabulae magnae marmoreae litteris magnis parum bonis saeculi quinti, effossum in monte Quirinali ubi nunc transit via quae dicitur Nazionale.

MMM II No. 16.

... piamine saeptus / ... Cereris quoque mystes / ... tum quinque decen-
vir / ... la conptus / ... libus undis / ... nuernatus odore / ... [insu]perabilis
[M]ethrae.

377

Basis parva semirotunda reperta in monte Quirinali in via Mazzarini in Mithraeo exiguo.

CIL VI 31039; MMM II No. 32.

T. Camurenus Phil/adelfus invicto / Mithrae d(onum) d(edit) per / No(nium?)
F[i]rmum pa(trem).

378

Marble altar, found near S. Lorenzo's *in piscibus* in 1949.

Ann. Ep., 1953 No. 237.

Diis m[agnis] / M(atri) d(eum) m(agnae) I(daeae) et A(ttidi meno)/tyranno
[Sextius Rus]/ticus v(ir) c(larissimus) [et inlust]/ris pater pa[trum dei in]/victi
Mithr[ae]....

Sextus Rusticus was the *proconsul Africae* between 371 and 373; *cf.* Pallu de Lessert, *Fastes des provinces afr.*, II, 75ff; Dessau, No. 778.

379

In lapide marmoreo reperta prope S. Susannam.

CIL VI 728; MMM II No. 81.

Soli invicto / sacrum / Cornelius Maximus / c(enturio) coh(ortis) X pr(aetoriae)
ex voto.

380

Ara marmorea, reperta ad Quirinalem in hortis pontificalibus.

Invicto / N(abarze?) ad ritus / Atticus p(ater) / d(onum) d(edit).

L. an *urceus*; r. a *patera*.

381

Towards the end of the 16th century a Mithraeum was discovered between the Quirinalis and the Viminalis. According to reports from this time it should have been situated in a vineyard of Horazio Muti's opposite S. Vitale's. The following two monuments were found and according to Vacca (*Memorie*, 116) the first was found "in una stanza vuota con la porta rimurata ed aveva molti lucernieri di terracotta intorno".

382

Marble statue, "alto da 5 palmi"; now lost.

Montfaucon, *Diarium*, 198; Zoega, *Abh.*, 204 n. 8. The known drawings of this monument are to reduce to an engraving of Pietro S. Bartoli, who should have made it from the description of Vacca, whose manuscript he had in his possession (*cf.* Hoeck, *Vet. Med. Mon.*). Montfaucon, *Ant. Expl.*, I (2), 369, Pl. CCXV, 1; Seel, 226 and Pl. VIIa; MMM II 196f No. 10a and fig. 21; Lanciani, *Storia Scavi*, III, 200.

A naked figure with monstrous lion's head is standing on a globe. At his shoulders four wings are attached in opposite direction. The serpent is winding itself around the globe, entwines the god himself and slips its head into his mouth (Aion). In each hand he holds a key.

383

White marble relief (H. 0.75 Br. 0.65), walled into the wall of the flight of stairs, which leads to the garden of Palazzo Colonna.

Vacca, *Mem.*, 117; Fea, *Misc. fil.*, I, 102 No. 117; Montfaucon, *Ant. Expl.*, I (2), 369 and Pl. CCV, 2; *Diarium*, 198; Zoega, *Abh.*, 205 No. 9; Seel, 227f and Taf. VIIb; Lajard, *Rech.*, 581 fig. 22; *Intr.*, Pl. LXXI, 2; Matz-v. Duhn, No. 3743; MMM II No. 10b and fig. 22; RRR III, 219, 3; Eisler, *Weltenmantel*, II, 446 fig. 56; Lanciani, *Storia Scavi*, III, 200; Pettazzoni in *AntC* XVIII, 1949, Pl. I; Vermaseren, *Mithrasdienst in Rome*, 67f. See fig. 109.

Standing person with lion's head, naked up to his hips, the lower part of his body being covered by a kind of trousers. In his outstretched hands he holds a burning torch. From his mouth a gust of wind is going into the direction of a burning altar before him. At his shoulders four wings are attached in opposite direction. Around each wing the windings of a serpent.

384

Lanciani, *Storia Scavi*, III, 200 gives another interesting note about a second Mithraeum, discovered in 1869 near the previous sanctuary in Muti's gardens. This sanctuary is said to have been situated on the corner of the Via Nazionale and the Via Venezia. According to Lanciani it is a *spelaeum* "scavato nel tufo, con vestibolo (lungo 3.60, large 0.83) e cella con nicchie ed ara (larga 3.18, profonda 2.65). Questo sotterraneo santuario è certamente diviso da quello descritto da Vacca, considerando che nella predetta tavola B² del Nolli il terreno Muti è diviso da quello Stati da una vigna intermedia, appartenente ai Ghislieri". We have not been able to ascertain, whether this sanctuary was really devoted to Mithras and we have no further information at hand.

385

Statue of Greek marble (H. 1.15 Br. 1.45), found on the Quirinalis, Via Rasella. Museo Capitolino.

BCM 1881, 241; *MMM* II 479 No. 10*bis* and fig. 413; *RRS* III, 138, 6. See fig. 110.

Mithras as a bullkiller on a rocky base. The god's r. foot only, standing on the bull's hoof, has been preserved. The bull's muzzle with the horns and ears, its tail and l. foreleg have got lost. The serpent and the dog near the wound; the scorpion on the usual place. The dog's hind-quarter and head are not preserved.

386

Wall-painting in the house of the *Nummi Albani*'s family on the Quirinalis, Via Firenze near the Ministero della Guerra.

Capannari in *BCM* XIV, 1886, 17ff; *MMM* II 197 No. 11; Maria Santangelo, *Quirinale*, 153.

In one of the underground rooms of the house, which was discovered 1886, there is a wall-painting on which Mithras tauroctone is represented in fresco. The god wears a red cap und tunic, whereas the torchbearers respectively wear a yellow or orange tunic and cap, but an *anaxyrides* which is green (r. torchbearer) or brown (l. one). The bull is greyish-brown. The dog is grey, the scorpion is yellow. Further data are unknown.

387

Beside the preceding No. one fixed later on a relief in plaster, the traces of which point to a representation of Mithras slaying the bull.

388

The floor of this apartment was covered with black and white mosaic. As this decoration ends at about 1 mtr distance from the side-walls, there were probably benches as well. This house belonged to the *Nummi Albini*'s family; we know that a Nummius Albinus was a *consul* in 345 A.D.

389

In 1936 in the garden of the Palazzo Barberini a Mithraeum was discovered under a house, which is in the possession of Conte A. Savorgnan di Brazza. The great kindness of the owner enabled us to examine it closer.

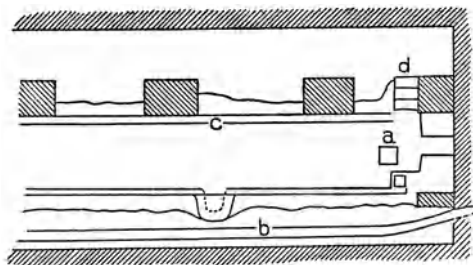


Fig. 111.

Annibaldi in *BCR* 1938, 251f; R. Horn in *AA* 1936, 475f; Lugli, *Mon. Ant.*, 1938, 320 and *Suppl.*, III, 31ff; Annibaldi in *BCR* LXXI, 1943–45 (1947), 97ff. See fig. 111, taken from Annibaldi's publication, which he kindly sent to me.

The excavated room consists of a central room, on either side of which there is a smaller, narrower room; they are of the same size (probably first cent. A.D.). One of these rooms was changed into a Mithraeum later on. The sanctuary is rectangular (H. 4.42 L. 11.83 Br. 6.25) and is divided into a central aisle (Br. 1.95) and two side-benches, sloping towards the walls. Along the front of the r. bench (H. 0.83 Br. 1.40) as well as of the l. bench (Br. 2.45) runs a broad ledge, covered with marble.

The two benches show moreover, approximately in the middle and on floor-level, hollows for the basins. The basin of the l. bench (c) is half-round and covered by a lid. This bench can be ascended via three steps at d, and it supports four brick columns, which help to support the arched roof. Behind the r. bench, which can be ascended via two steps, runs a small canal b.

On the level with the side-benches against the back wall, the arched cult-niche (H. 2.15 D. 1.03) has been constructed. The arch joins the last column of the bench. On its right two fishes are painted, a remnant of the signs of the zodiac. The inside of the niche is covered with sea-shells and pumice to give it a cave-like appearance. At the foot of the niche two projecting elevations have been made (H. 0.82 Br. 0.50–0.70 D. 0.90), which are plastered on the inside and painted with undefinable motives in blue, green and red.

390

Wall-painting in the cult-niche.

Cecchelli in *Roma* 1941, Tav. XXI; Annibaldi, fig. 3. See fig. 112; *Berytus* XI, 1954, 16 fig. 1.

In the centre Mithras slaying the bull, whose tail seems to end in three ears. The god is dressed in a green *tunica* and *anaxyrides* and in red cloak, on which seven stars have been represented. Seven more stars are visible in the field behind him. The dog and the serpent with their heads near the blood of the wound; the scorpion on the usual place; the raven is perched on the vaulted arch of the grotto.

On either side a torchbearer in a red Eastern attire. Their red Phrygian caps with a green point have two hanging ribbons like Mithras' cap. Not cross-legged. Under Cautopates' torch (r) a triangular red object is visible (Phrygian cap?; little flag?).

Above this main scene an arch in which the twelve signs of the zodiac have been represented (from the left to the right): Aries-Taurus-Gemini-Cancer-Leo-Virgo-Libra-Scorpio-Centaurus-Capricornus-Aquarius-Pisces. In the centre, on a globe a standing, naked figure, entwined by a serpent, which lays its head on the god's lion's head (Aion). Above the zodiac a second arch with seven(?) altars alternating with trees (cypresses?).

In the upper corners the busts of Sol and of Luna. Around Sol's head an aureole and a crown of rays, one of which darts out to Mithras. Luna is dressed in a green-blue *chiton* and she has an aureole around her head.

On either side of the main-scene five other scenes:

L e f t:

1) Jupiter raises with his r.h. a thunderbolt in order to strike a lying Gigant before him.

2) Reclined figure (Oceanus-Saturnus).

3) Mithras' rock-birth. In the upraised hands he holds a torch (r) and a dagger (l). On either side a person in Eastern attire (Cautes and Cautopates). Their tunics are grey, their cloaks are red. It cannot be distinguished whether they hold anything in their hands.

4) Standing Mithras shoots an arrow towards a rock, in front of which a person is knelt down.

5) Vague. Mithras carrying the bull.

R i g h t:

1) Mithras, dressed in a white tunic with long sleeves, red *anaxyrides* and red cloak, lays with his l.h. a crown on the head of Sol, who is knelt down before him and who raises his both hands up to him. Above Sol's head Mithras holds with his r.h. a brown object (club?; cap?).

2) Mithras, dressed in a grey tunic, lined with red piping, and in a red cloak is kneeling between two trees (cypresses), above which an arch is visible. Mithras seems to hold leaves in his lifted hand (Mithras-Atlas).

3) Mithras in Eastern attire and Sol, dressed only in red hanging shoulder-cape, stand on either side of a stump of column on which they hold a sceptre with their r. hands. On the sceptre are three knobs (*Report*, 110 n. 43 thinks of roasting spits with pieces of meat).

4) Sol, dressed in red shoulder-cape, in a radiate crown, stands in a *quadriga*, into which Mithras is about to mount.

5) Behind the tripod, on which dishes, three persons are reclining.

Left a standing person in Eastern attire, raising his hand before his eyes. On the

r.h.-side of the scene traces of another standing person. According to Annibaldi six reclining persons are represented.

It would be desirable if the fresco, which is so important for the study of the Mithras-cult, were transported to a Museum as it suffers a great deal from its present surroundings. The same may apply to the paintings of S. Prisca's.

391

Square marble slab (0.30), walled in the right projecting elevation before the cult-niche.

Yperanthes / basem inbicto / donum / dedit.

The name of *Yperanthes* seems to be of Persian origin (*cf.* CIG XII p. 480). The inscription stands in a red frame, in which traces of red and blue colours.

392

Before the niche in the central aisle stands an altar (H. 0.80 Br. 0.60), covered with marble. The altar is pierced by a hole (diam. 0.17–0.12) in which traces of fire are to be seen. Below this hole, on the back a second hole (depth 0.25) has been made. See fig. 111, *a*.

393

On the last column of the left bench, a standing person has been painted in red, pressing his l.h. against his breast and stretching out his r.h. towards an apparently kneeling person, whose head is covered with ivy. The latter stretches both hands (Annibaldi, fig. 4).

394

On the last column but one, a standing person in short tunic with a wreath of ivy. In his l.h. he carries fruits.

395

Graffito on the left wall: *Macarius*.

396

Franz Cumont kindly drew our attention on several ancient fragments, walled in the wall of the flight of steps in the house at the Via Boncompagni 101 (boarding-house Cosmopolita). They should have been discovered during the construction of the house.

1) The lower part (Br. about 0.50) of a marble group of Mithras tauroctone with the usual animals. Around the bull's body a band.

2) The lower part (Br. about 0.06) of a marble low-relief with the bullkilling.

My personal researches have failed to find back these monuments.

397

Fragment of a white marble relief (H. 0.20 Br. 0.155 D. 0.04), found in the Castra Pretoria. Mannheim, Schlossmuseum.

Cumont in *RA* (S. 3) XLI, 1902, 10ff and figs. 1–2 (cf. *AJA* 1902, 48); Antonielli in *BCR* 1912, 243ff; *Report*, 108. See fig. 113.

The obverse shows the representation of Mithras slaying the bull. Only a part of the flying cloak and a fragment of the tunic have been preserved. His foot stands on the hoof of the bull, whose tail ends in ears. The scorpion is at the testicles.

The reverse shows the scene of a repast. Visible is the upper part of Mithras' body, who reclines at table, leaning on his l. elbow. In his r.h. he has a drinking-horn, while before him on a tripod a plate with food (loaves). In the r. corner of the bed a bull's head, under it a sitting dog. On the right side stands Cautopates, whose head got lost, pointing his torch downwards. To him corresponded probably Cautes on the other side.

Remarkable is the person, who is disguised with the mask of a raven and is dressed in a short cloak. He is walking towards one of the fellow-guests in order to hand him a cup (*Report* thinks of a spit with piece of meat).

398

White marble statue (H. 0.50), found in the Castra Pretoria in 1882. According to Cumont it is now in the Tabulario at Rome, where however, I did not find it back.

BCM X, 1882, 241; *MMM* II 197 No. 12.

Standing torchbearer in Eastern attire; cross-legged. Traces of redpainting. Head, arms and feet got lost.

ROMA (*Reg.* VII)

399

In the 15th century a Mithraeum was discovered on the Piazza S. Silvestro in Capite. About its construction all data fail. The altars and the bases, on which the inscriptions Nos. 400–405, are lost. One inscription (No. 406) however, has been preserved and stands on the back of a marble slab (H. 0.54 Br. 2.25). It was found in 1867 and is divided by small columns into four square and three semi-circular niches, in which the seven planets must have been represented (Rome, Museo Naz. Terme, Inv. No. 662). The sanctuary was in use between 357–382 A.D.).

MMM II 196 No. 9; Helbig, *Führer*, II, 71 No. 1274; Paribeni, *Terme Diocl.*, 139 No. 282; Vermaseren, *Mithrasdienst Rome*, 79.

400

CIL VI 749; *MMM* II No. 7.

Constantio VIII et Iuliano II con[s(ulibus)] / Nonius Victor Olympius v(ir)
c(larissimus) p(ater) p(atrum) / et Aur(elius) Victor Augentius v(ir) [c(larissimus)]

pater / tradiderunt leontica IIII idus / aug(ustas) felic(iter). / Alia tradiderunt cons(ulibus) supra s(criptis) / XVII kal(endas) oct(obres) felic(iter).

357 A.D.

401

CIL VI 750; MMM II No. 8.

Datiano et Cereale cons(ulibus) / Nonius Victor Olympius v(ir) cl(arissimus) p(ater) p(atrum) [et] Aur(elius) Victor Augentius v(ir) c(larissimus) p(ater) / tradiderunt persica pri(die) non(as) april(es) / fel(iciter). / Consulibus s(upra) sc(riptis) tradiderunt [h]eliaca / XVI kal(endas) mai(i)as / felic(iter).

358 A.D.

402

CIL VI 751a; MMM II No. 9.

Datiano et Cereale cons(ulibus) / Nonius Victor Olympius v(ir) c(larissimus) p(ater) p(atrum) / et Aur(elius) Victor Augentius v(ir) c(larissimus) / tradiderunt patrica XIII k(alendas) mai(as) felic(iter). / Consulibus s(upra) s(criptis) ostenderunt cryfios / VIII kal(endas) mai(as) feliciter.

358 A.D.

403

CIL VI 751b; MMM II No. 10.

D(ominis) n(ostris) Valente V et Valentiniano / iuniore primum aug(ustis) VI idus april(es) / tradidit hierocoracica Aur(elius) Victor / Augentius v(ir) c(larissimus) p(ater) p(atrum) filio suo Emiliano / Corfini(o) Olympio c(larissimo) p(uero) anno tricensimo / acceptionis suae felic(iter).

376 A.D.

It is remarkable that at the end of the fourth century children could be admitted in the mysteries also.

404

CIL VI 752; MMM II No. 11.

Eusebio [et Hy]patio cons(ulibus) / Nonius Victor Olympius v(ir) c(larissimus) / et Aur(elius) Victor Augentius v(ir) c(larissimus) / tradiderunt leontica V idus / martias feliciter.

Datiano et Cereale con[s(ulibus)] / Nonius Victor Olympius v(ir) c(larissimus) p(ater) p(atrum) / et Aur(elius) Victor Augentius v(ir) c(larissimus) p(ater) / tradiderunt leontic[a XVI? k]al(endas) apri[l(es)] felic(iter).

359 and 358 A.D.

405

CIL VI 753; MMM II No. 12. Saxum magnum marmoreum rep. anno 1648 in ecclesia S. Ioannis prope S. Silvestrum.

Mamertino et Nebitta co[ns(ulibus)] / Nonius Victor Olympius v(ir) c(larissimus) p(ater) p(atrum)] / et Aur(elius) Victor Augentius v(ir) [c(larissimus) p(ater)] tradiderunt leontica kal(endis) apr(ilibus) felic(iter). / Al[i]a tradiderunt con[s(ulibus)] s(upra) s(criptis) VI idus apr(iles) felic(iter) leont[ica]. Cons(ulibus) s(upra) s(criptis) tradiderunt chryfios (*sic!*) VI idu(s) apr(iles) felic(iter).

362 A.D.

chryfios: cf. No. 402.

406

CIL VI 754; MMM II No. 13.

Saxum marmoreum longum 2.25, largum 0.54 effossum mense septembri anni 1867... ad viculum S. Silvestri. Formatum est saxum in septem zothecas, quadrata quatuor, semi-circulares tres, quarum media arcu insignis est, ea autem quae intuenti extrema est versus sinistram, alteram zotheculam continet. Foramina parvula in ipsis zothecis obvia in iis proposita fuisse signa manifesto ostendunt. Ante zothecas columnae parvulae porticum efficiunt.

T	T	Olim Victor avus, caelo devotus et astris	A	A
A	A	Regali sumptu Phoebeia templa locavit.	U	U
M	M	Hunc superat pietate nepos, cui nomen avitum est:	G	G
E	E	Antra facit, sumptusque tuos nec Roma requirit;	E	E
S	S		N	N
I	I	Damna piis meliora lucro: quis ditior illo est	T	T
I	I		I	I
I	I	Qui cum caelicolis parvus bona dividit heres?	I	I

„Tituli qui sunt nn. 749–754 ad idem omnes pertinent sacrarium dei Solis Mithrae quod saeculo quarto in urbe prope viam Flaminiam extabat. Instituerat Nonius Victor Olympius v.c.; nam satis liquet eundem esse Victorem tituli 754 qui „*caelo devotus et astris Phoebeia templa locavit*” sc. sacrarium dei Solis instituit et Nonium Victorem Olympium qui „*p(ater) p(atrum)*” annis 357, 358, 359, 362 initiationibus Mithriacis praefuit (749–753). Una cum eo commemoratur Aurelius Victor Augentius filius, „*vir clarissimus pater*” (749–753), anno 376, post mortem, ut videtur, patris ipse „*pater patrum*” et summus mysteriorum praeses (751b). Huius filii fuerunt Aemilianus Corfinius Olympius „*c(larissimus) p(uer)*” (751 b) qui anno 376 traditis hierocoracis infimo mysteriorum gradu initiatus est, et Tamesius Augentius Olympius, qui superato avo Victore Olympio sumptu suo antra sacrario addidit (754) vel potius templum eversum restituit. Id vix factum esse potest ante a. 376, cum Tamesius tum fuisse videatur et caput familiae et praeses mysteriorum, illo autem anno iis praefuerit pater Aurelius Victor Augentius. Anno autem 377 cum Gracchus praefectus urbi specum Mithrae ac multa deorum simulacra destruxerit (Hieron., *Ep.*, 107) probabiliter conieceris tum periisse templum deo Soli ab avo conditum et loca eius antrum a nepote institutum esse. Nec tamen ante a. 382 id Tamesium instituisse indicari videtur verbis quibus se sumptus Romae (i.e. publicos) non requisisse gloriatur. Anno enim 382 Gratianus Augustus, licet cultum publicum non prohiberet, emolumenta ei negavit antea publice praebita (Symmach., *Ep.*, 10,61).

Contra factum esse videtur antrum ante edicta Mediolani et Constantinopoli annis 391 et 392 publicata (*Cod. Theod.*, 16, 10, 10 et 12) quibus cultus deorum etiam privatus prohibetur. Nam quamvis multi tempore posteriore, praesertim in urbe, veteris religionis essent asseclae, vix tamen sacrarium Mithriacum haud exiguum Romae condi potuit” (Henzen).

407

When a foundation-pit was dug at a distance of 19 mtrs from the Via Sicilia 180, a marble slab (H. 1.72 Br. 0.48 D. 0.04) came to light which on the top and the bottom shows traces of iron clips and of lime, with which it must have been fixed. The slab was not found *in situ*. For nothing was found of a cave, which is mentioned by an inscription, as we shall see. Only a fragment of a water conduit with an inscription was discovered, dating from the end of the second century. The slab is now at the Museum Nazionale Terme, Inv. No. 106543.

Mancini in *NSc* 1925, 48f; Paribeni, *Terme Diocl.*, 140 No. 289.

L.H. 0.025.

Pro salute et reditum / et victorias imp(eratorum) Caes(arum) / L. Septimi Severi Pii Pertin(acis) Aug(usti) Arab(ici) Adzab(enici) Part(hici) Max(imi) / et M. Aurel(i) Antonin(i) Aug(usti) [et P. Sept(im)i Gethe(*sic!*) Caes(aris) fil(ii) et fratris] Augustorum n(ostrorum) / totiusque domus divinae / deum invict(um) Mithr(am) / Aurelius Zosimion et / Aurelius Titus Aug(ustorum) lib(erti) / suis impendiis conlo/caverunt item antrum / suis sumptibus / exstructum fecerunt / item consummatum / consacraverunt.

The title of *Parthicus Maximus* was given to Sept. Severus at the end of 197 or in the beginning of 198 A.D.

He came back in 202 or 203.

408

Relief of Greek marble (H. 0.59 Br. 2.05). Rome, Museo Torlonia (I have not been able to study this monument as it seems impossible to have access to this private collection). Found "prope rudera Turris Mesae, quae a nonnullis ad Solis templum ab Aureliano exstructum refertur".

Vignoli, 174; Montfaucon, *Ant. Expl.*, I (2), 382f and Pl. 217, 3; Hammer, *Mithr.*, 80ff No. III and Pl. III, 1; Seel, 217f and Pl. XIb; N. Müller, *Mithras*, fig. 6; Lajard, *Intr.*, Pl. LXXXII, 1; P. E. Visconti, *Mus. Torl.*, 104 No. 191; Zoega, *Abh.*, 149 No. 19; MMM II 195 No. 8 and fig. 20.

In a cave Mithras is killing the bull whose tail ends in ears. The dog and the serpent with their heads near the wound; the scorpion on the usual place. Cautopates is standing before a rock, against which a serpent is creeping upwards. Behind him a grazing ox. On the other side standing Cautes in Eastern attire, cross-legged. At his feet a scorpion with upraised tail (in Vignoli a bird with two leaves in its mouth). Above his head a *pegasus*.

Left of the raven, which is perched on Mithras' cloak, another bird (a peacock with *Visconti*, a stork with *de Hammer*).

In the corners the busts of Sol in radiate crown and of Luna in crescent. On the relief itself and on the lower rim an inscr.

409

CIL VI 726; MMM II No. 30; CIL VI 30821.

a) Soli invicto / L(ucius) Aur(elius) Severus / cum paremboli(s) / et [h]ypobasi / voto fecit.

b) [Soli i]nvicto / Mithrae [f]ec(it) L(ucius) Aur(elius) Severus Pra[es(idente) L(ucio)] Domitio Mar[cel]lino patr(e).

410

CIL VI 725; MMM II No. 31. Tabula marmorea.

L(ucius) Aur(elius) Severus sicut / voverat invictum / deum dedic(avit) mens(e) apr(ili) / Commodus Aug(usto) III et / L(ucio) Antistio Burro co(n)s(ulibus) / [p]raes(idente) Domit(io) Marcellin(o) patr(e).

181 A.D.

This inscription, on which the same L. Aurelius Severus is mentioned, proves that the preceding inscription has nothing to do with the temple of Sol, built by Aurelianus (Cumont).

ROMA (*Reg. VIII*)

411

Triangular marble slab (H. 0.39 Br. 0.30 D. 0.03), found in the Forum of Nerva. Fourth century. Museo Capitolino.

Paribeni in *NSc* 1933, 478ff No. 133 with fig.; Pietrangeli, *Mon. Culti Or.*, 13 No. 13.

In the centre a primitive figure of Sol in radiate crown. He lifts his r.h. and in the l.h. he probably holds a globe. He is dressed in a long dress. Under him a head (Luna?). On the edges an inscription:

412

L.H. 0.018.

[Si]mulacrum restitu/tum deo Soli invicto / [s]acratis speleus patet ap.

As Paribeni remarks, one can also read *sacratis* without any addition, so that the translation reads "the cave is open to the initiated". His reconstruction of the last words into a possible *pater et apparatores* sound less plausible. Probably 4th cent.

413a

Small marble base, found in one of the private houses along the Via Sacra nearly opposite to the Basilica of Constantine.

Hülsen in *Klio*, II, 1902, 237 No. 9; *Ann. ép.*, 1903, No. 6.

[De]o invicto Mithrae / [. . U]lpus Paulus / ex / voto / d(ono) d(edit) / anti-stante L. Iustino / Augurio p(atr)i et Melito.

413b

Upper part of a marble relief (H. 0.12 Br. 0.13 D. 0.05), found in the Forum of Caesar. Museo Capitolino.

Pietrangeli, *I monumenti dei culti orientali*, Rome 1951, 44.
Cautes with upraised torch.

414

In the Northern part of the Capitoline-hill, near the present Church of S. Maria d'Aracoeli, there was at the time of Cyriacus from Ancona (born 1391) a Mithraeum called "lo perso". Smetius visited it in 1550, but when Montfaucon arrived in Rome (1594) it had already been destroyed for some time. A manuscript from about 1600, which belonged to Lanciani and now lies in the Library of the Italian archaeological Institute (No. 124/227 *ed.* Mariani) gives further details about this sanctuary.

Colini in *BCR* 1938, 259 considers it possible to ascribe all data and finds to one Mithraeum (see the three following Nos.), which then might have consisted of several rooms and contained many statues; but this does not seem to me assumable (see below). This Mithraeum must have been situated behind and between "il complesso delle costruzioni che si addossavano all' Arce nel luogo ove oggi si trova il Palazzo dei Musei, costruzioni che prolungavano quelle su cui è impostata la scala d'Aracoeli e di cui un piccolo poco conosciuto avanzo può vedersi ancora in una stanzino, che serve di ripostiglio al pianterreno del palazzo sudetto".

We accept a large sanctuary near the S. Maria d'Aracoeli and a smaller one along the Salita delle Tre Pile (see the discussion in *De Mithrasdienst Rome*, 38ff, where we reject also Lugli's opinion, who makes a distinction between the speleum "lo Perso" and the find-spot of the large relief No. 415 (*Roma Antica*, I, 34).

415

White marble relief (H. 2.54 Br. 2.65), was erected on the Piazza Capitolino (Pignorius) in the 17th century, then transported to the Villa Borghese, nowadays Paris, Louvre, Inv. No. 1023. Second cent.

Nearly in every publication about the Mithras-mysteries, this relief has been discussed. See MMM II 193 and 479 No. 6 with fig. 18 and Pl. I; MM, Taf. II, 3; Saxl, 109; Autran, *Mithra*, 112; Cecchelli, *Roma sacra*, I, 137f; Mariani in *Bull. Arch. Arte* 1938, 85; Giglioli in *Capitolium* 1940, 762; HGR, 385.

See fig. 114 procured by the Direction of the Louvre.

In a grotto Mithras tauroctone in the usual attitude and attire. The dog, the serpent and the scorpion are present; the raven is perched on the rocky border of the cave.

Cautes clasps with his l.h. the ears (two or three) from the bull's tail, he lifts with the r.h. his torch. Before the bull Cautopates is standing with the torch pointed downwards. Both torchbearers are not cross-legged.

In the l. upper corner Sol in a *quadriga*. He wears a flying shouldercape. With a whip, which is lost now, he urges the horses, which he leads with the reins. Before the horses a naked child with a upraised torch (*Phosphorus*).

In the r. upper corner Luna descends in a *biga*, also guided by a naked child with a torch pointed downwards (*Hesperus*). In the middle three twisted trees.

Of the numerous, often bad restorations we mention Mithras' head, his r. arm with a great part of the dagger, the l. arm and a part of his r. leg; the front part of the bull's head; the heads and torches of both torchbearers, moreover the l. leg of Cautopates and his l.h. with a bunch of grapes, the r. leg of Cautes; the greater part of the dog and a part of the serpent; the raven has been restored as an owl; the head of Sol and the foremost part of his horses; the head of Luna and her horses (originally probably bulls) almost entirely; the heads of the two children.

On the bull's neck and body an inscription:

416

CIL VI 719; 30819; MMM II No. 62.

Next to the wound:

Nama Sebesio.

On the bull's body and on the lower border of the relief:

Deo Soli invict[o] Mitrhe(*sic*!) / C(aii) Aufidii Ianuarius [et...]

Further:

Nam/a/ necs.

The graffiti on the thigh are modern (Cumont in *Rev. Phil.*, 1892, 96).

417

White marble relief (H. 0.56 Br. 0.86), broken in two parts. Found in 1872 near the Salita delle Tre Pile, a flight of steps, leading up to the Capitoline-hill and situated opposite to S. Maria d'Aracoeli. Close to it a small cave was hewn out. Museo Capitolino, Inv. No. 1205.

C. L. Visconti in *BCM* 1873, 111ff and Pl. III; MMM II 195 No. 7 and fig. 19; Stuart Jones, *Sculpt. Pal. Cons.*, 259 and Pl. 101; Muñoz, *Campidoglio*, 44 and fig. 31; Pietrangeli, *Mon. Culti Or.*, 12 No. 9. See fig. 115.

Mithras slaying the bull, whose tail ends in ears. The god looks at the raven, perched on a rocky stone behind him. Dog and serpent near the wound, the scorpion on the usual place. On either side a torchbearer is standing on a square base, cross-legged. Both are in Eastern attire like Mithras and they hold their torches with both hands. In the upper corners the busts of Sol in aureole and radiate crown and of Luna with diadem in her hair and a crescent behind her shoulders. In the upper border is a notch, which probably served for fastening the relief.

418

Reperta in ascensu Capitolii.

CIL VI 700; MMM II No. 105.

Soli sacr(um) / C. Ducenius / C(aii) lib(ertus) Phoebus / filius Zenonis / natus in Suria / Nisybin liber / factus Romae / ex visu / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

ROMA (Reg. IX)

419

Marble relief (H. 0.34 Br. 0.30 D. 0.13), probably found in Rome during the construction of the Palazzo Primoli along the Via Zanardelli. Was in the private coll. of Franz Cumont, now in the Belgian Academy in Rome.

Cumont in *CRAI* 1928, 274f and fig.; Pesce in *BullSRAA* 1939, 252 and fig. 12; Levi in *Hesperia* XII, 1944, 277 fig. 6; Vermaseren, *Mithrasdienst Rome*, 102. See fig. 116.

On a base two persons standing side by side, with their backs against the wall. The left one is entirely naked but for a loincloth, and is entwined by a serpent, which rests its two heads on the god's shoulders. In his two hands, which he holds stiffly pressed against his body, he carries an Egyptian *ânkh*. Two ribbons beside his head, which has got lost, prove, that he wore an Egyptian *klaft* (Egyptian Aion identified with the Mithraic). By his side stands a goddess, somewhat smaller, dressed in a *chiton*, which leaves her left breast uncovered. Over it she wears a fringed cloak. In her upraised r.h. she probably held a *sistrum*; the l. forearm is lost, it hung limply by her side. She wears sandals (*Korè*).

420

CIL VI 1778; MMM II No. 14.

Basis magna marmorea. In hortis Matthaëiorum, ubi adhuc extat.

Agorii / Vettio Agorio Praetextato v(iro) c(larissimo).

a) On the first column: Pontifici Vestae / pontifici Solis / quindecimviro auguri / tauroboliato / curiali / neocoro / hierofante / patri sacrorum.

b) On the second column: Quaestori candidato / praetori urbano / correctori Tus/ciae et Umbriae / consulari / Lusitaniae / proconsuli / Achaiae / praefecto urbi / praef(ecto) praet(orio) II / Italiae et Illyrici / consuli designato.

c) On the right side: Dedicata kal(endis) febr(uariis) / d(omino) n(ostro) Fl(avio) Valentiniano Aug(usto) III / et Eutropio cons(ulibus).

387 A.D.

From *Vettius Agorius Praetextatus* we also know the tombstone, which gives his titles (CIL VI 1779; MMM II No. 15) somewhat more elaborately: augur, p[on]tifex Vestae, / pontifex Sol[is], quindecimvir / curialis Herc[ul]is, sacratus / Libero et Eleusi[ni]s, hierophanta / neocorus / tauroboliatu[s] / pater patrum.

So it appears, that Vettius was still *pater sacrorum* in 387 and that at his death he moreover held the place of *pater patrum* (cf. A. Bruhl, *Liber Pater*, Paris 1953, 254ff). About his activities: J. Nistler in *Klio* X, 1910, 462ff; H. Bloch in *HThR* XXXVIII, 1945, 204ff.

421

In 1938 a Mithraeum was found 3.45 mtrs under the Basilica of S. Lorenzo in Damaso, in a cellar near the Sacrament's Chapel. In the 15th cent. this Basilica was incorporated in the Palazzo della Cancelleria.

Nogara in *Quaderni di Studi Romani* IX, 1941, 8ff; Nogara-Magi in *Hommages Bidez-Cumont*, 229ff.

Of the sanctuary, situated near the entrance of the Palazzo, to the right along the facade, only some remnants have been preserved: a fragment of a wall; traces of a white mosaic floor probably of the central aisle (Br. 1.50), laying between the two side-benches. On a fragment of a wall, traces of red painting decorated with small crescents and stars have been found.

422

Cylindrical marble altar upon a square base (H. 0.725 Br. 0.40 base; diam. 0.41).

Nogara-Magi, 230 and Pl. XII, 1; Nogara in *Quaderni*, Pl. I, a.

This altar which was already restored in antiquity, has an inscription in a *tabula*:

L.H. 0.035–0.04.

Aebutius Restituti/anus qui et Proficen/tius antistes dei / Solis invicti Mithrae/ aram / d(onum) d(edit).

After the last words a palm-branch.

423

Rectangular marble slab (H. 0.395 Br. 0.65 D. 0.07), broken in two pieces. Traces of red painting. In the middle there is a hollow probably for fastening. Before it was used for the present inscription, it certainly served another purpose.

L.H. 0.022.

Hic locus est felix, sanctus, piusque benignus,
Quem monuit Mithras mentemque dedit
Proficientio patri sacrorum
Utque sibi spelaeum faceret dedicaretque
Et celeri instansque operi reddit munera grata
Quem bono auspicio suscepit anxia mente
Ut possint syndexi hilares celebrare vota per aevom
Hos versiculos generavit Proficientius
Pater dignissimus Mithrae.

After the third and last lines a palm-branch.

We give the translation of J. Bayet:

“C’est ici le lieu favorisé des dieux, saint, cher au ciel, que, dans sa bienveillance, Mithra a prescrit, suggérant à Proficientius, père des rites, de lui bâtir et dédier une crypte. Et voici qu’il s’acquitte d’un doux service, pressant même la hâte d’un travail qu’il a entrepris sous d’heureux auspices, tant il a souci que les *syndexi* puissent, dans la joie, se réunir pour leur prière, éternellement.

Ces petits vers ont été composés par Proficientius, père très digne de Mithra.”

An extensive commentary on this inscription will be found in the publication of Nogara-Magi, 232ff.

424

Fragment of a *tabula ansata*, of which the right part only has been preserved. In the *ansa* a palm-branch. (H. 0.30 Br. 0.27–0.41 D. 0.45).

L.H. 0.043.

.....m et /rrius / Solis /t Maximo co(n)s(ulibus).

Magi supplies: Imp. Volusiano II et Maximo (253 A.D.).

425

Fragment of a *tabella* (Br. 0.25 D. 0.025) with an inscription.

L.H. 0.045.

invicto /tius Pr...

426

Fragments of a marble relief (H. 0.66 Br. 0.955 D. 0.065).

Nogara-Magi, 239 and Pl. XVI, 6. See fig. 117.

Only the lower part of the relief has been preserved. Mithras is slaying the bull; the dog and the serpent are licking the blood from the wound; a large scorpion grasps the testicles. Behind the bull Cautopates, pointing downwards his burning torch, which he holds with both hands.

427

Marble statue (H. 0.595).

Nogara-Magi, 239 and Pl. XV, 7. See fig. 118.

On a base Cautopates in Eastern attire, cross-legged. He is leaning against a trunk and a rocky stone. Beside his l. foot a cock. The greater part of his arms and his torch have got lost.

428

Marble statue (H. 0.55).

Nogara-Magi, 240 and Pl. XV, 8.

Naked Mithras emerges from the rock. In his hands, pressed against his body, he is holding a dagger (r.h.) and a torch (l.h.). Remnants of his hair. He is visible about up to his knees. The head has got lost.

429

In basi praegrandi reperta retro palatium Senense.

CIL VI 713; MMM II No. 76.

Soli / Mithrae.

430

Relief of gypsum (H. 0.90), found under the Palazzo Montecitorio in 1907. Bought by the Liebighaus at Frankfort. Second century.

MM, 230; Leipoldt, VII; Schnapper in *Angelos*, 1932, 9f with fig. See fig. 119.

Mithras slaying the bull, which wears a broad belt around its body. The dog's head near the wound; the other animals have got lost. On either side Cautes (r) and Cautopates (l), cross-legged. Traces of painting: Mithras' face, hair and hands are gilt; his garments are red with a green meander-rim; the bull and the dog are red as well as the garments and the hands of the torchbearers.

Lost: flying cloak, l.h. and r. foot of Mithras; forelegs and right hind-hoof of the bull; hind-quarter of the dog.

ROMA (*Reg.* X)

431

Two white marble statues (H. 0.51 and 0.47), found in 1886 "sotto il lato settentrionale del Palatino fra questo colle e la Via S. Teodoro". At the moment probably in the Museum on the Palatine.

Lovatelli in *BCR* 1892, 226ff and Pl. X; MMM II 206 No. 21 and figs. 33–34.

1) Cautes in Eastern attire and with upraised torch, cross-legged. At his feet a cock. Traces of red painting on base and sides.

2) Cautopates in the same attitude and attire. At his feet a bird (cock or owl). Traces of red painting.

ROMA (*Reg.* XI)

432

Small marble altar (H. 0.44 Br. 0.30 D. 0.16), found along the Via del Mare. Mus. Lateran, Inv. No. 319. This informations were kindly given by Cav. Frenquelli, who drew our attention on this monument.

On the front-side the bust of Sol with five rays round his head. On the reverse a star above a crescent. On the r. side a *patera*, on the l. side a jug. On the front side an inscription:

433

Invicto / Soli / Felicissimus et / Philocurius aed(em) / d(onum) d(edit).

434

When in 1932 a wing of the Palazzo dei Musei di Roma was rebuilt into a warehouse for the Teatro dell' Opera, considerable remnants of a Roman public building were discovered, a part of which was made to a Mithraeum in the second half of the third century. The finds are kept on the spot or in the Antiquario.

Colini in *BCR* 1931, 123ff (cf. *AA* 1932, 484; *BCR* 1933, 279); Lugli, *Mon. Ant.* (Suppl.), 157; Pietrangeli, *Mitreo Pal.*, 1ff (reprint from *BCR* 1940 (1941), 143ff); Fuhrmann in *AA* 1941, 517ff; Vermaseren, *Mithrasdienst Rome*, 45ff. See figs. 120 and 121.

By a corridor one enters the sanctuary, which has been constructed in a number

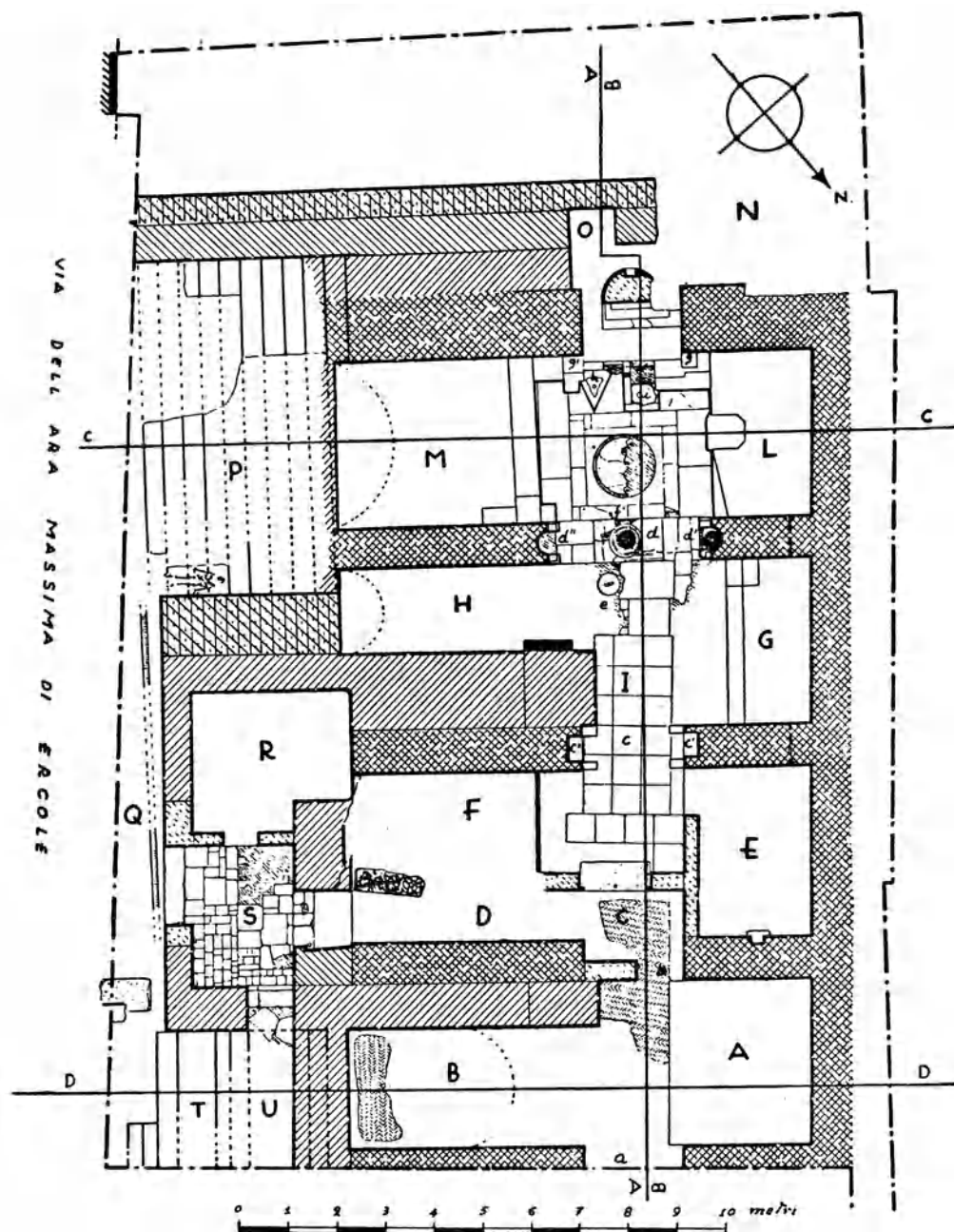


Fig. 120.

of adjacent rooms. First of all one reaches the paved rooms *C* and *F*, which by a door are connected with the rooms *A* and *B*. Next to *C*, separated from it by a wall and connected by a door, lies room *E*, which served as an *apparatorium*. A niche beside this door probably contained a statue.

Underneath the architrave on either side of door *c*, which opens on the actual sanctuary, there was a small plastered niche (H. 1.09 D. 0.30), in which on a base the statues of the torchbearers must have been standing. Two small columns, which rested on a *mensola* with leaf-work, supported an architrave and thereby gave the niches the shape of an *aedicola*. Below them against the wall, two small votive-altars or bases, the one made of marble (H. 0.425 Br. 0.28 D. 0.27), the other of travertine (H. 0.38 Br. 0.33 D. 0.28). Near the left niche there also was a small well, which by a pipe was connected with the *cloaca*. Near the other niche some bones and a small bronze bell were found.

Entering the room *G* and *H*, we find only in *G* a bench (H. 0.72) with projecting edge (H. 0.12 Br. 0.33) and entirely covered with marble. It can be ascended via three steps on the side.

In the polychrome marble floor a capital was dug in, which must have supported a statue. Under the arched doorway *d* a pit was found (D. 0.65), containing a round *amphora*. On its bottom two tusks of a boar were found.

On either side of this archway niches have been constructed in the same shape as those at *c*, but here they are on floor-level. On the inside they are plastered and painted red; on the outside a marble covering is made with the aid of bronze nails. On the bottom of the r. niche a terracotta vessel (D. 0.45) with a crescent-shaped rim. At the same time a vase, entwined by a serpent, was discovered here.

Finally we enter the rooms *L* and *M*. Looking back, we see over arch *d* a marble console on which a bust, dressed in *lorica* and *paludamentum* (the head has got lost).

The floor-covering in these rooms is much more expensive. In the middle of a square of cippolino-marble a circle of alabaster; further polychrome marble (red, brown etc.) was used. Two small holes in the ground communicate with the *cloaca*.

Also the walls are decorated: in *L* there are twelve red circles all around and a few red and grey lines.

The slight sloping bench (H. 1.03) in this room shows a polygonal recess and is covered with white and polychrome marble. It can be ascended via three steps at the side. The other bench (in *M*) with a projecting edge lies under the arch of the adjoining room *P*. Two bases, standing on either side before the cult-niche, supported statues; in the front side of the r. one there is a hollow. In front of the l. base there is another base, triangular in shape. It supported a triangular block with a terracotta tube in the centre. Finally a fourth base, standing in front of the cult-niche, might have served as an altar.

In the back wall on either side of the cult-niche a relief was fixed; under the left one (now lost) there is a bracket for another relief.

To give the whole a cave-like appearance, the inside of the arch of the cult-niche was made in pumice. In the niche itself a semi-circular construction with a depression for a cult-statue. Before it two steps. The entire was covered with marble.

The cult-niche could also be entered from a room behind it.

435

White marble relief (H. 0.87 Br. 1.64), found in the hindmost room of the Mithraeum in 1931. End of the third century.

Colini in *BCR* LIX, 1931, 123ff with figs.; van Buren, *Ancient Rome*, 143 and Pl. 8 fig. 2; Pietrangeli, 26 = 166 No. 1 and fig. 13; Cecchelli in *Roma*, 1941, Tav. XVIII; *Berytus* XI, 1954, Pl. 1, 2. See fig. 122.

The relief must have stood in a corner against the wall on a pedestal, as is clear from holes in the lower rim and in the back and moreover from a decoration only on the left and upper border.

Mithras in *tunica manicata* and flying cloak is slaying the bull, whose tail ends in one great ear. On the point of the Phrygian cap a star; four more stars are visible to the right of the god's head. The dog and the serpent are licking the blood from the wound; the scorpion grasps the testicles. On either side stands a torch-bearer: Cautes (l) and Cautopates (r), not cross-legged. They are dressed in a tunica only. It is remarkable, that two Corinthian capitals behind them are turned in the same direction as their torches.

Behind the main scene a grotto has been represented; on its border the raven is perched, which grasps with its beak part of Mithras' cloak; furthermore a lizard is visible creeping out of its hole. Before the entrance to this grotto Mithras carrying the bull; before the bull's forelegs a serpent.

In the upper corners the dressed bust of Sol with a crown of seven rays, and of Luna with a crescent behind the shoulders. She is looking downwards.

On the upper border, above Mithras' head, a crown of leaves on either side of which runs the inscription:

436

Pietrangeli, 26 No. 1.

Deo Soli invicto Mithrae Ti(tus) Cl(audius) Hermes ob votum dei typum d(onum) d(edit).

437

Marble relief (H. 0.48 Br. 0.62 D. 0.12), found in the hindmost room.

Pietrangeli, 26f = 166f No. 2 and Tav. II. See fig. 123.

In a cave Mithras slaying the bull, whose tail ends in (three?) ears. The dog and the serpent with their heads near the wound; the scorpion at the testicles; the raven on the rocky cave-border. Mithras is looking at Sol whose bust has been represented in the l. upper corner. Sol has a radiate crown. In the r. corner the bust

of Luna with a crescent behind her shoulders. The torchbearers have not been represented.

Traces of painting: Mithras' cap and cloak are red; the other garments have traces of blue; the open mouth of the bull is red; traces of red and gold on the heads of Sol and Mithras.

438

Fragment of a small, white marble relief (H. 0.11 Br. 0.13 D. 0.05). Now in Rome, Via Portico d'Ottavia 29. According to A. M. Colini who was so kind to draw our attention to it, it should have been found in this Mithraeum.

The relief (original H. about 0.26) has a representation of Cautes in *tunica manicata* and long cloak. In the upraised r.h. a flaming torch.

439

Marble serpent's head with a small hole in the beginning of its neck. Certainly belonged to a group of Mithras as a bullkiller or to a rock-birth (L. 0.095).

440

Marble pilaster broken in two (H. 1.015 Br. 0.14) with ridges in the four sides. At the top the head of Sol in a radiate crown (Pietrangeli, fig. 14).

441

Lower part of a statuette (H. 0.153 Br. 0.08) of Minerva, dressed in a long *chiton*. With her l.h. she is leaning on a shield.

442

Base of a Venus-statuettes (H. 0.135 Br. 0.075); only the feet and on the right side a jug, upon which a cloth, have been preserved.

Another broken base may have belonged to a Venus-statuettes also.

443

Bust of a man in *lorica* and *paludamentum*. Head lost.

444

Further other small finds were made such as bones of animals, tusks of boars, pieces of marble, among which one with the outlines of a fish, bronze objects such as e.g. a bell with iron tongue, a coin of Vespasianus and another one of Maximianus, small pieces of glass, a tile with an inscription from the time of Domitianus and many terracotta objects.

445

A small lamp (diam. 0.11) on which a flying Victoria has been represented, holding a crown in the r.h. and a palm-branch in the l.h.

446

Fragment of a large *dolium*, on which two small columns, supporting a facade. Between the columns a youth, who is playing the flute and holds a stick(?) in his l.h.

447

Fragments of a small lamp with the lower part of the bust of Luna in a crescent.

448

Small lamp with the representation of a ram.

449

On a marble slab (H. 0.33 Br. 0.45). L.H. 0.025.

Pietrangeli, 29 No. 1.

Soli invict[o Mithrae] / sacrarium [fecit] / P. Aelius Ur[banus or Urbicus] / sub
A. Sergio Eutycho / sacerdote.

450

On a marble slab with a pierced star in the centre. L.H. 0.025–0.03.

Pietrangeli, 30, 2.

Daeo(*sic*!) / invicto d(onum) d(edit) / L. Reminius / Fortunatus.

451

On fragments of a marble slab. L.H. 0.02.

Pietrangeli, 30, 3.

...ub sedente / Cossio / [A]tiniano / patre.

452

On a fragment of a marble slab. L.H. 0.065–0.038.

Pietrangeli, 30, 4.

L. Mo.... / Magn[us] / dev[otus?].

453

On two fragments of greyish marble. L. H. 0.175.

Pietrangeli, 30, 5.

[p]onti[fici maximo] / [trib. po]t. XX / [cura?]vit.

Trajan or Hadrian only were tribunes twenty times.

454

Graffito on the back-wall of room *M*.

Pietrangeli, 30, 6.

magicas / inbit... fa / ef.... egentio / nius.

455

On a small marble slab.
Pietrangeli, 31, 7.
ALLIM (cacus).

456

Fragment of a Greek marble relief (H. 0.35 Br. 0.30 D. 0.12), found in the Via Borgo Vecchio. The present owner unknown. Was in 1896 in the buildings of the Commissione archeologica.

BCR 1891, 296; MMM II 208 No. 24.

Of the representation of Mithras as a bullkiller only the lower part has been preserved. The god is dressed in a tunic and flying cloak; his head, his l. leg and a part of his r. leg have got lost. Behind the bull whose tail ends in ears, a torch-bearer is standing with upraised torch (Cautes).

ROMA (*Reg.* XII)

457

Under the Southern part of the Northern gallery of the Caracalla-therms, a Mithraeum was discovered in 1912.

Ghislanzoni in *NSc* 1912, 305ff; Gatti in *BCR* XI, 1912, 155ff; *AJA* XVII, 1913, 118; 1914, 101; Constans in *JS* 1915, 86; Parpaglio, *Zon. Mon.*, 57ff; Ripostelli, *Terme Car.*, 67ff; Berve, *Ant.*, fig. 14; MM, 230; Burckhardt, *Const.*, fig. 133; Lugli, *Mon. Ant.* (Suppl.) I, 161 fig. 39; Leipoldt, fig. 9; Vermaseren, *Mithrasdienst Rome*, 80ff; Moscioni, No. 24178. See figs. 124 (from Ghislanzoni) and 125 (with permission of the Istituto Polygrafico dello Stato).

By entrance *g* (Br. 1.75) with a marble threshold, one enters the sanctuary (L. 23.00 Br. 9.70). It is divided into a central aisle (Br. 4.65) covered with black and white mosaic, and two benches sloping towards the side-walls. The right bench (H. 1.00 Br. 2.17 L. 19.17) begins at some distance (1.45) from the entrance and ends at 1.70 from the back-wall. Here (8) it is accessible via two steps (Br. 0.70). An edge (Br. 0.40) covered with marble slabs runs all along the front. The left bench has approximately the same sizes and construction. It has, just as the other bench, two small niches (10) in the raised front. Of these niches the one (H. 0.46 Diam. 0.56 D. 0.45) is at the beginning of the benches, the other (H. 0.51 Diam. 0.80 D. 0.60) approximately in the middle. Tall brick-pillars stand on the benches, supporting the vaulted roof. They were covered with marble on that side, which was visible from the central aisle. Through these pillars narrow passages (H. 2.00) have been made, which make it easier to go from one side of the bench to the other. Remarkable is the fact, that on the r. bench the first passage is bricked up and that instead an oblong opening (H. 0.70 Br. 0.40–0.20) is found.

In the floor of the central aisle just behind the entrance, there is a round hole

(diam. 0.93 D. 0.95) covered with a stone lid (*r*). Next, there is near the middle (see 2) an oblong rim (L. 1.85 Br. 1.70) in which a large opening (L. 1.35 Br. 1.00) has been hewn out, which by an underground passage communicates with one of the side-rooms of the sanctuary. Then there is a third square opening (3) (L. 1.00 Br. 1.00) and finally in front of the niche another hole (4) (L. 0.30 Br. 0.30), communicating with a canal, which disappears into the r. bench.

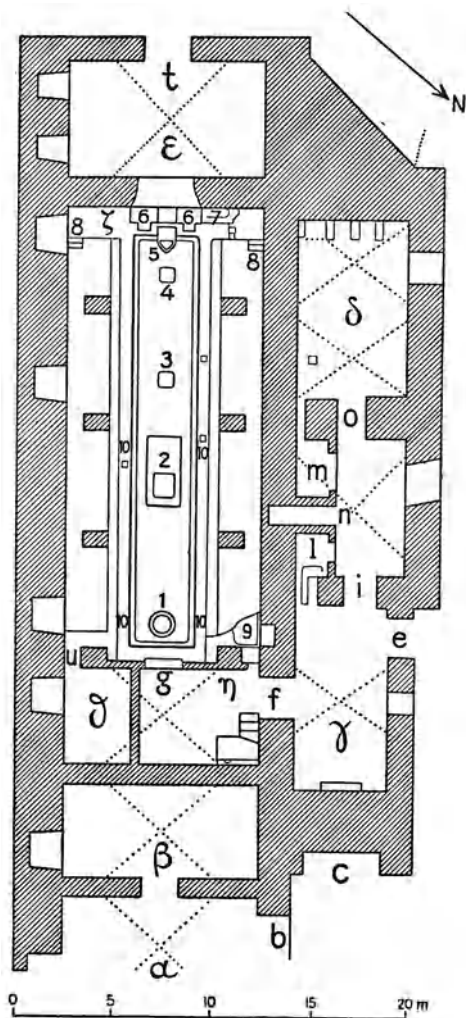


Fig. 124.

The central aisle leads to an arched and cave-like cult-niche (H. 1.30 Br. 3.56), which is accessible on either side (6) by four steps. In the fourth step on the r.h. side, there is a small hollow, in which probably a lamp was placed. Before the niche in the central aisle, a triangular base with the top towards the entrance (Br. 0.87). Before the entrance, there is another room (L. 9.30 Br. 4.80), which is divided into two parts (*θ* and *η*). From the first narrow apartment (L. 3.35) one can enter the left part of the sanctuary by an entrance (*υ*) (Br. 1.18) with a marble threshold. Left of the entrance *f* of the other room (L. 5.95) there is a spacious deep basin, with four steps leading into it.

Alongside the sanctuary there is a series of apartments of which it cannot be said with certainty if they communicated with the Mithraeum. Room *γ* behind entrance *e* was indeed used as a passage to the sanctuary. In the back-wall of this oblong room there was an half-round water-basin (Br. 1.40). By *i* one enters another large room (*n*); in which two smaller rooms (*l* and *m*) served as lavatories. They are

separated by a passage, which underground leads to an oblong opening (2) in the floor of the actual sanctuary. One descends into this passage via three steps.

Entrance *ο* finally leads into the last room (L. 8.85 Br. 5.50), in which against the back-wall a kind of counter (H. 1.00 Br. 0.75) has been built with four semi-circular niches under it. In the floor is a round pit (Diam. 1.50 D. 0.64), into which one can descend by two narrow steps on two sides. On a line with this pit, there is

in the wall on the side of the Mithraeum a small passage (H. 0.43), leading into the sanctuary.

458

Fragments of a marble relief, which probably served as a fenster. I did not find it back.

Parpaglio, 58 and fig. XIV; Herbig in *JdI* 1929, 254, fig. 21; Moscioni, No. 24291. See fig. 126.

Of Sol's head only the curls are visible of his hair, which was encircled by seven rays. Next to it his upraised hand with outstretched palm. The wrist is covered by the sleeve of a *tunica manicata*. In the right lower corner the bust of Luna in a crescent. She wears a diadem in her hair. Part of her hand is visible. The bust and the larger part of the crescent have got lost.

459

Fresco in an arched niche (H. 1.80 Br. 1.10) above the right bench.

Ghislanzoni, 322; Ripostelli, fig. 79; Parpaglio, 58f and fig. XV. See fig. 127.

Mithras, dressed in purple tunic with long sleeves and *anaxyrides*, wears on his head the Phrygian cap, of which only the point has been preserved. His face, on which traces of red paint, is badly damaged. In his l.h. a light-blue globe. The other hand is stretched out over a kind of base (small altar?), above which a greenish undefinable object is visible. In his neck a small hole. Judging from traces next to his shoulders, the whole niche was painted in red.

460

Ghislanzoni, 324f and fig. 12; Ripostelli, 78; Parpaglio, 58 and fig. XII; Anderson, 21961; Alinari, 30162. Mus. Naz. Terme.

In the small room ϑ , a marble statue of Venus was found. The goddess is represented entirely naked in the act of leaving her bath. With both hands she wrings her hair, which streams over her shoulders. By her side a dolphin. Head lost.

461

Marble relief of Mithras as a bull-killer. Only fragments have been preserved: a.o. the knee of the bull's r. hind-leg; bent knee of Mithras; parts of a serpent, dog, cock and of a bust, dressed in a tunic. The relief should have been in the back-wall (Ghislanzoni, 322).

462

Pieces of roughly worked stone may point at a representation of Mithras' rock-birth.

463

In the hall (near η) stood a small marble *cippus* (H. 0.33 Br. 0.18 D. 0.21) with on

both sides a *patera*, on the front and back an inscription (Mus. Naz. Therme, Inv. No. 69651).

Ghislanzoni, 323; Parpaglio, *Zon. Mon.*, 58 en fig. XIII; Cumont-Canet in *CRAI* 1919, 315f; Weinreich, *Urk. Sar.*, 24ff; Paribeni, *Terme Diocl.*², 140 No. 288; Nock in *JHS* 1925, 89; Peterson, 227ff; Cumont in *RHR* 1934, 64.

- 1) Εἰς Ζεὺς / Μίτρας / Ἥλιος / κοσμοκράτωρ / ἀνείκητος.
- 2) Διὶ Ἥλῳ / μεγάλῳ / Σαράπιδι / σωτῆρι / πλουτοδότῃ / ἐπήκοῳ / εὐεργέτῃ / ἀνεικῆτῳ / Μίθρᾳ χαριστήριον.

464

On the Aventine, between the Eastern side of S. Saba's and the Via Salvator, there is a Roman building, which probably was used as a Mithraeum in the end of the 4th century.

Gatti in *NSc* 1925, 382ff and fig. (cf. *AA* 1927, 108). See fig. 128.

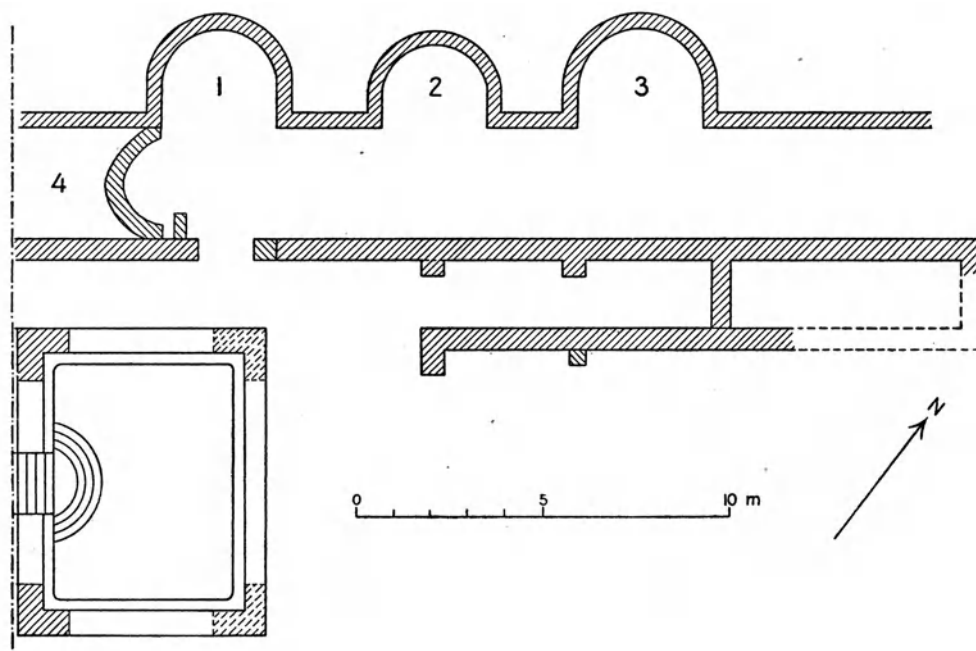


Fig. 128.

The building, which lies East-West and consists of a long corridor (L. 20.00 Br. 2.95) has three semicircular niches in the Northern wall. The mosaic floor has been preserved in niche 1 (Br. 3.19 D. 2.47) and niche 3 (Br. 3.45 D. 2.60) and in room 4, but not in the smaller niche 2 (Br. 2.87 D. 2.12).

Opposite the first niche, a passage (Br. 1.79) leads to a building, consisting of

several rooms and extending further South. Only a few small remnants of it have been preserved.

Outside the corridor-wall, there was a large basin (L. 6.40 Br. 4.85 D. 1.95) with four columns (H. 1.35 D. 0.60) on the corners, which probably supported a wooden roof. There was a hole in the bottom for the water-supply, whereas the outlet took place by an opening in the E.-wall. Four ordinary and four semicircular steps lead down into the basin.

465

Small marble relief (H. 0.20 Br. 0.25 D. 0.06). Museo Capitolino, Inv. No. 1198.

Primitive representation of Mithras, slaying the bull. No torchbearers, no Sol and Luna. The raven perched on Mithras' flying cloak; the dog and the serpent with their heads near the wound; the scorpion on the usual place.

ROMA (*Reg.* XIII)

466

Basis marmorea anno 1764 in monte Aventino effossa.

CIL VI 846; MMM II No. 25.

C(aius) Ruf(us) / Volusianus v(ir) c(larissimus) / pater ierofanta / profeta Isidis / pontifex dei sol(is) / votum solvi.

To be placed in the 4th century, for *Volusianus* is either the *consul* of 314 A.D. or the *praefectus urbi* of 365 A.D.

467

During the excavations of the Dolichenum on the Aventine in 1935, two Mithraic monuments have been discovered and besides statues of Sol, Luna, Venus, Silvanus and Hercules. The finds are in the Museo Capitolino.

Colini in *BCR* 1936, 152f. Nos 18–20; Kan, *Jup. Dol.*, 108 Nos 176–7; Merlat, *Rép. Jup. Dol.*, 169 Nos 187–8; Pietrangeli, *Mon. Culti Or.*, 38 Nos 9–10.

These monuments are, as far as we know, the only certain Mithrasmonuments that came out of a Dolichenum. Moreover two inscriptions came to light.

468

Two small fragments of a relief with the representation of Mithras tauroctone and the two torchbearers in a grotto. Traces of polychrome colours. Second half of the second cent.

469

Very small relief with the representation of Mithras, slaying the bull. On the lower border, which has been broken, some figures.

470

Colini in *Epigraphica*, I, 1939, 138f, No. 15; Kan, No. 150; Merlat, No. 189.

a) [Deo] Soli [invicto Mithrae .../... n]umi[ni?.. / ..] me .../ [pr]o salute [sua] et ... [s]uorum o[mnium] / [in]victo nu[mini] / ... ma... / ...ig

b) [s]ign[um] et pro[videntissimus...].

471

Small marble base, which seems to have been found in the same sanctuary during former excavations.

CIL VI 412; MMM II No. 116; Merlat, No. 203.

I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo) a(eterno?) Dolicheno/ et Soli digno pr(a)es(tantissimo) etc. cf. CIL VI 30741.

472

During operations at the foot of the Aventine, not far from the Arco di S. Lazzaro, three inscriptions were found in 1931. They probably date from the third century. It is quite possible, that here in the neighbourhood of the former *Emporium* a Mithraeum existed (Patriarca in *BCR* LX, 1932, 239ff and fig., Cumont in *CRAI* 1933, 469f; *RHR* CIX, 1934, 63ff; Pietrangeli, *Mon. Cult. Or.*, 13No 12; 1; 7).

473

On a marble *stele* (H. 1.58 Br. 0.20 D. 0.16) Mus. Capitolino.
L.H. 0.19–0.22.

Διὶ Ἡλίῳ / μεγάλῳ / Μίθρᾳ ἀνεικλήτῳ καὶ τοῖς / συννάοις
θεοῖς δωρόν / ἀνέθηκαν / λύχνους χαλκοῦς ἑξαμύξους / δύο /
Κάστος πατήρ / καὶ Κάστος υἱὸς / ἱερός κόραξ / καὶ
καθιέρωσα[ν] / ὑπηρετούντων / Λ. Σατυρίου Σπόρου καὶ
Πακτουμ(ηίου) / Λάυσου πατέρων / Μο[δ]έστου, Παραλί/ου.
Ἀγαθημέρου, / Φήλικος, Ἀπαμηνίου, Κηλωήδι / λεόντων.

474

On a pilaster with cannelures. (H. 1.89 Br. 0.20 D. 0.13). Mus. Capitolino.
L.H. 0.20.

Διὶ Ἡλίῳ Μίθρᾳ / ἀνεικλήτῳ Κάστος / πατήρ καὶ
Κάστος / υἱὸς ἱερός κόραξ.

Two other marble pilasters without inscriptions have been found.

475

On the remnants of a bracket, decorated with leaves of acanthus (H. 0.21 Br. 0.51 D. 0.13). Mus. Capitolino.

Διὶ Ἡλίῳ Μίθρᾳ / Φάνητι / ἱερεὺς καὶ πατήρ /
Βενοῦστος συν τοῖς / ὑπηρεταῖς θεοῦ ἀνέθ(ηκεν).

476

In 1935 during excavations, undertaken by the Fathers Augustines, a Mithraeum was discovered in the underground rooms of a notable house, situated under and behind the *absis* of S. Prisca's on the Aventine. This Church lies above the house, in which an early Christian community had its meeting-place next to the house, the underground rooms of which served for the mithraists to held their services.

In 1952 and 1953 I carried on the excavations together with Dr C. C. van Essen. Other seasons of work will follow, thus we are only able to publish here some preliminary details of the results. The monuments are at the moment in the Dutch Historical Institute at Rome; they will be exhibited in a small Museum in the Mithraeum itself. We thank the Soprintendente Prof. Dr Pietro Romanelli and Dott^{essa} Bianca Maria Felletti-Maj for their warm interest and effective help. An extensive description of the different succeeding periods of the Roman house, of the Mithraeum and of the new finds will be given in a separate book.

Ferrua in *CivCatt.*, 17, 2, 1940, 298ff; *Mitreo Prisca* (reprint from) *BCR* LXVIII, 1940, 59ff; Lugli, *Mon. Ant.* Suppl., 56ff; Fuhrmann in *AA* 1940, 478f; Merlin in *RA* (S. 6) XVII, 1941, 40ff; Leopold in de *Nieuwe Rott. Cour.*, 8 Aug. 1942; Cumont in *CRAI* 1946, 401ff; Vermaseren, *Mithrasdienst*, 55f. See figs. 129 and 130.

By a modern entrance one enters a long, spacious passage and descends by several steps into the *vestibulum* of the *spelaeum*. The Mithraeum was built towards the end of the second century A.D. in the underground rooms of a house, which was constructed itself in the time of Hadrian. Towards the end of the fourth century it was destroyed by the Christians and filled up with rubbish. The entrance-hall has been built in a rather extraordinary way, for within a small and rough, enclosing wall (H. 1.15) with only a very small entrance, a red painted altar (*k*) has been erected (H. 1.15 Br. 0.57 D. 0.68), in front of which there is only a little room.

On the South wall (*F*₂) there are two snake-like figures, which seem to be the legs of a Gigant (*cf.* No. 491). Against the same wall a very narrow bench was constructed. This enclosed part of the entrance-room may have been used for preserving and killing of small cattle. Two other benches were constructed against the walls *C* and *D*.

By *m* one enters the actual sanctuary (L. 11.25 Br. 3.50), which consists of a paved central aisle (Br. 1.60) and two sloping benches (H. 1.00 Br. 1.35), on which traces of red painting are visible. Bench *p* was originally interrupted by entrance *e*, but later on it was extended all along the wall. In its front near *g*, in a bluishly plastered hollow, a deep, paunchy jug (largest diam. 0.60) had been dug in. The other bench *q* is much shorter and is still interrupted by a small passage, which leads to *b*, where by steps one can enter the side-room *Y* (originally the central room of the house). Near *t* a narrow, oblong shaft was walled into the bench. The two benches have along the front a projecting ledge, covered with marble, and they support near their beginnings the semicircular, plastered niches *h* and *i* (H. 1.75). Niche *h*

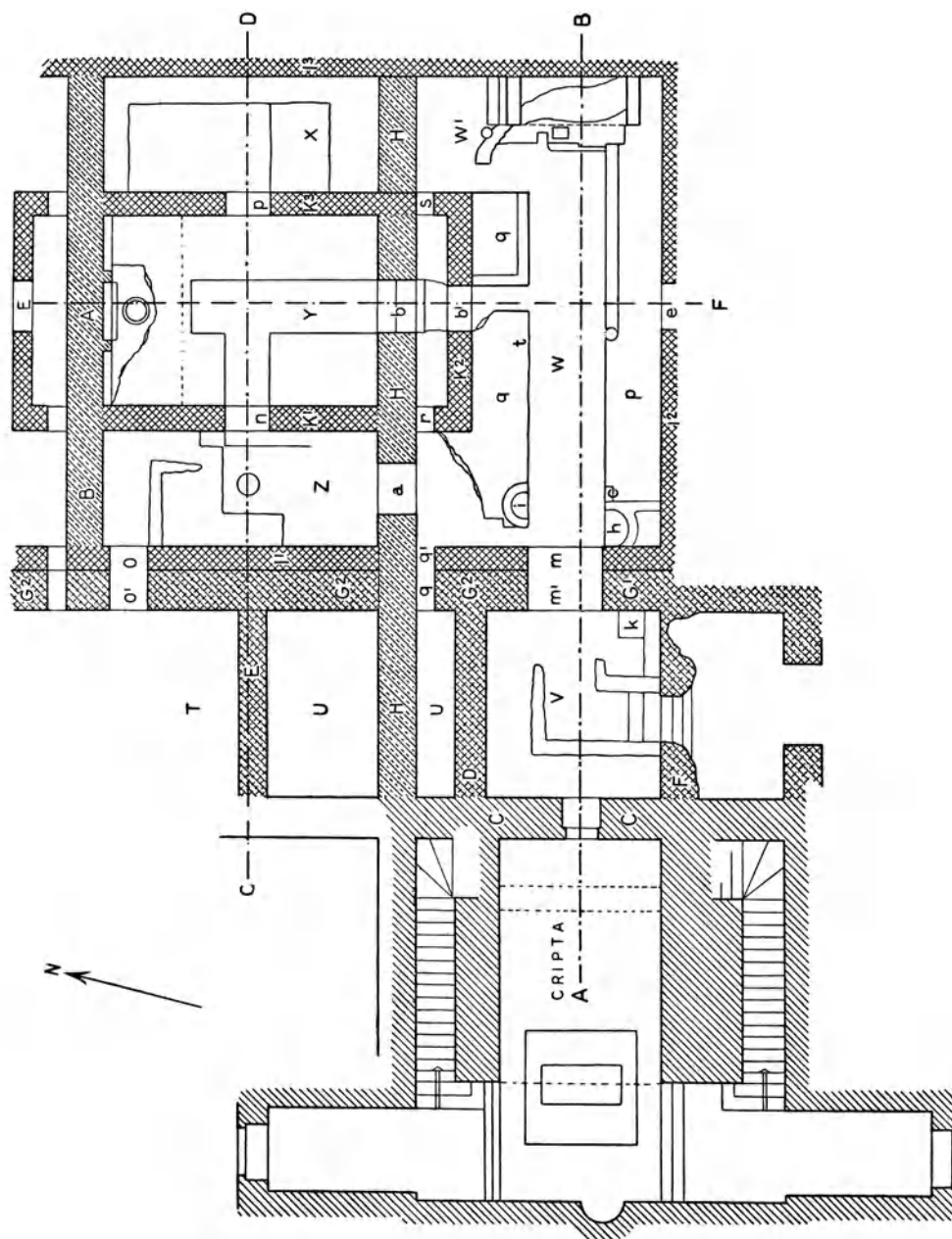


Fig. 129.

(diam. 0.90), painted in an orange colour is connected with the South wall by a small wall, on which a trapezium in red, green and white (different periods of painting). The niche contains a statue of Cautes (see below No. 477). The dark purple uiche *i* (diam. 0.66 however,) is not connected with the wall behind it

and stands clear. A statue of Cautopates, which must have been standing in it, was not found back.

As said above, bench *p*, which can be ascended via one step *c* and via two other steps, runs on as far as the high, plastered cult-niche, whereas *q* stops at some distance (2.75) from it already. A single small wall (H. 1.22) forms the substructure of this niche, which consists of an arched vault, supported by two columns, which are decorated with acanthus-leaves. The use of tuff gave the whole the appearance of a cave (H. 2.35 Br. 2.36 D. 1.20), which was decorated by polychrome stucco in different periods.

Best preserved is a figure of Oceanus-Saturnus, who lies stretched out over the entire breadth of the niche (see below). With his l.h. he holds an amphora, out of which a fountain spouts up. The water falls in a plastered vessel (H. 0.55 Br. 0.52) and flows again away from it through a lead pipe into a basin in the pavement of the central aisle.

On the sides of the niche scenes of the bull-killing in stucco and of Mithras' birth (see below).

In two succeeding periods the side-walls of the Mithraeum were painted abundantly (see below) and provided with many *dipinti*.

On the right side of the Mithraeum there must be different rooms accessible by entrance *e*, which are not yet explored. On the left side, however, there are three adjacent rooms. One enters by a room *Z* (L. 6.90 Br. 2.80), in which against wall *I*₁ a bench had been constructed. Along wall *K*₁ is a very narrow corridor leading to entrance *n*. At some distance of this door a second bench had been constructed, which joins with the first one. Behind it there is (beginning at *o*) a rough wall. Both benches are plastered and have traces of red colour. In the podium-like floor a jar was found (see below).

Room *Y* (L. 6.90 Br. 4.55) shows after the last excavations a central aisle and two low side benches and has generally the same appearance as the Mithraeum itself. The l. bench originally was interrupted by a narrow corridor at entrance *n*; the r. bench however, continued along the side-wall *K*₃ and next to entrance *p* it contains a vessel.

The central aisle leads to a much higher *podium*, which was constructed before a niche built against the wall *A* (the surface of the plastered niche shows many traces of blue; it has to be restored). In the podium itself there was a second vase.

Room *X* is only accessible by room *Y*. It has two benches.

Many figures reproduced are given by the Institute for Christian Archaeology in Rome. We feel obliged to thank Mgr Giulio Belvederi for this important material.

477

Statue in Greek marble (H. 1.02), found in niche *h*.

Ferrua, *Mitreo Prisca*, 9ff and fig. 5.

Cautes, dressed in a short tunic which does not cover the lower part part of

his body; cross-legged. He wears sandals. He leans against a tree-trunk, on which a cock has been represented. Head, and parts of his arms are broken off. In the thighs numerous nail-holes, so the lower part of the body may have been covered with an *anaxyrides* in stucco. The statue originally was a Mercure and was transformed later on into a Cautus. Traces of red painting.

478

Statue in stucco in the cult-niche.

Ferrua, 12 f. See fig. 131.

Reclining Oceanus-Saturnus, the lower part of whose body is covered by a red-blue cloak. The naked breast has a red colour. Behind his shoulders the remnants of a blue *velum* are visible, which he has wrapped over his head. The right gilded hand holds a part of a stick, probably an oar. Both arms are lacking. In his left shoulder a leaden tube is visible, which probably leads to the upraised left hand in which he held a *patera*.

A more detailed description of this statue and its significance has been given in M. J. Vermaseren — C. C. van Essen, *The Aventine Mithraeum Adjoining the Church of St. Prisca in Antiquity and Survival I*, 1955, 3–36; especially 15–18.

479

On the main side of the niche, there certainly was a representation in stucco of Mithras, slaying the bull. Parts of the flying cloak and the front part of the jumping dog are preserved. A gilded head (H. 0.25) in Phrygian cap and turned to the right may have belonged to this group (see fig. 132).

On the r. side of the niche, in stucco the front part of a foreshortened representation of Mithras with a white bull. The bull's breast and neck and Mithras' r.h. are preserved as well as the greater part of his flying cloak.

On the l. side of the niche there must have been a representation as well, as a number of nail-holes prove. Ferrua suggests the scene on which Mithras climbs a tree, it seems to me however, that there was a representation of Mithras' rock-birth. Large parts of Mithras' red cloak are preserved; the head has been found in 1954. The border of the niche has been decorated with the heads of the seven planets. A head of Saturnus-Sarapis has been found near the entrance of the sacristy. It is bearded and supports a *modius* (H. 0.50). See fig. 133 and *cf.* No. 818.

480

On the side-walls two layers of painting have to be distinguished; these are set off with red bands. Dr C. C. van Essen, who studied the style of these paintings, dates the first layer in the end of the second cent. A.D. and the second layer in the first quarter of the third cent. A.D. Our description is partly taken from the publication of Ferrua, who was able to observe details, which now are lost.

On the Southern wall (I₂) successively (*cf.* Ferrua, fig. 8):

1) A bearded man is sitting on a throne. He is dressed in a red tunic with long sleeves, piped with yellow stripes. Round his body a yellow band; from his shoulders a hanging, red cloak. He raises his r.h.. Beside the head in Phrygian cap a *dipinto*: L.H. 0.025.

Ferrua 17; Vermaseren in *Studia G. van Hoorn*, 297.

Nama [patribus] / ab oriente / ad occidente(m) / tutela Saturni.

2) A bearded youth without Phrygian cap, but with a blue aureole and a gilt radiate crown is walking up to him. Dressed in red tunica with yellow belt; the cloak is fastened on his shoulders. He greets with his r.h., with his l.h. he presses a light-blue globe against his side. Above his upraised hand a *dipinto*:

L.H. 0.02.

On the upper layer: [Na]ma H[eli]dromis] / tute[l]a S[ol]is.

On the under layer: Nama H[el]iodrom[i]s / t[utela Solis].

3) Badly damaged. The walking person holds a bundle of ears in his upraised r.h. and in his l.h. a sickle. At the wrists his whitish tunic is boarded with yellow stripes. Above him a *dipinto*:

[Na]ma Persis / tutela [Mer]curis.

Mercuris instead of *Mercurii* (Ferrua); at Ostia the *Perses* is under the patronage of Luna (cf. Cumont in *CRAI* 1946, 402 n. 5 and *supra* No. 299, 9).

4) A person, entirely dressed in red. With both hands he holds a vague object (altar-shovel) in front of him. Above him a *dipinto*:

Nama L[e]on[i]b[us] / tutela Iovis.

5) A youth, dressed in a white tunic, boarded with red stripes at the wrists. With his r.h. he grasps the tunic of the preceding person. On his left shoulder he carries a bag; arrows dangle from his belt. Above his head a *dipinto*:

Nama Militibus / tutela Mart[is].

6) Walking person with long yellow *velum* over his head. In his covered hands he carries a burning lamp. Above the head, both on the upper and under layer a *dipinto*:

upper layer: Nama Nym[phis] / tut/ela Veneris.

under layer: [N]a[ma] Nymph[i]s / tut[ela Ve]n[eri]s.

7) Only a few traces are preserved. It must be the corax, which is here not under Mercurius' protection but under Luna's.

481

The procession is continued on the part between the door *e* and the niche *h* (Ferrua, Pl. I; see fig. 134). One sees six young men, walking behind each other (*Leones*), in short hair and beards, dressed in a girded, ochreous tunic, the sleeves of which are decorated with purple stripes. They all carry offerings.

1) Only few traces.

2) Youth with white bull.

3) Youth with in his hands a cock (see fig. 135). Above him a *dipinto*:

N[a]ma Leon[i].

- 4) Stooping man pushing a large ram (see fig. 136). Above: [N]ama.
- 5) Youth carries a *krater* in both hands (see fig. 137). Above him the *dipinto*:
Nama Niceforo Leoni.
- 6) Stooping youth drives a pig before him. Above him:
 - a) Nama / Theodoro Leoni.
 - b) Nama. Leoni.

482

On the N. wall also a procession of persons. Also here there are *Leones* in the same attire, but their tunic is somewhat longer and reaches up to the knees; the colour of the attire is more reddish. (Ferrua, fig. 9).

- 1) Very vague. He carries a very indistinct object, probably a loaf. Above it:
Nama F. . . too Leoni.
- 2) A youth carries a *krater* (see fig. 138). Above him:
Nama He[li]odoro Leoni.
- 3) A youth carries in a glass dish a loaf, which is divided into six parts (see fig. 138). Above him:
Nama Gelasio Leoni.
- 4) Badly preserved. A stooping youth holds a *krater* in both hands. Above him:
Nama Phoebos Leoni.
- 5) The next three persons are a bit smaller in stature, because they have been painted over door *b*. The first one is very vague. In his hands he carries a piece of bread, which is divided into six parts. Above him: Nama.
- 6) Person, badly damaged. Four red stripes probably have to be explained as burning candles, which he holds in his hands.
- 7) Outlines of a person, carrying a cock. Above him: Nama.
- 8) Finally a youth with a bundle of four candles in his l.h. (see fig. 139; Ferrua, fig. 12). In his r.h. he holds a burning candle, the flame of which produces a yellow light. Above him:
Nama. etl(?) . . . o Leoni.

483

Ferrua, figs. 13–14; Cecchelli in *Roma* 1941, Tav. XVIII. See figs. 140–141.

He stops in front of a cave, which is indicated by an outline of scallop and a dark-purple back-ground. In the cave two servants are waiting on two guests. The first servant with a raven's head and raven's legs is taking a plate of meat to Mithras and Sol who are sitting side by side at the table. Their festive attire consists of a red tunic with a broad, yellow belt and of a red cloak. Around Sol's curly head a gilt radiate crown and an aureole, with other rays darting out of it, illumining the dark cave's vault with a sky-blue light. He raises his r.h. and with his left he presses a blue globe against his body. He looks at Mithras who is drinking his health with a raised *rhyton*. Behind the latter's Phrygian cap an aureole. On his left the other servant with a plate in his hands.

484

On the under layer remnants of other painted persons are visible. We hope to be able with the help of the Istituto del Restauro to remove the second layer of paintings. It is possible to observe that on the first layer of wall I_2 another procession of the various Mithraic grades has been represented. The first layer of wall I between entrance e and I_1 however, has not a similar representation as that on the second layer. The *leones* have been painted in other colours and are walking without animals. On the left wall there is a new, long procession of other *leones*, but the representation of the Mithraic meal has been omitted.

Apart from the dipinti already mentioned, one is able to read the following words and lines (*cf.* Ferrua, 24):

On wall I_2 between e and I_1 ; above 5 and 6:

Nama Leonibus novis et multis annis.

Above 5:

[N]ama.

Above 4:

Nama saev. Leoni.

Above the preceding there are two lines, parts of which can be read after having removed the second layer.

l. 1: . . . sit nemin. redderes.

l. 2: qu. . . . nium.

Above 3 and 2, Ferrua reads:

Nama. / Leoni.

. icit. . . . ucta / reddite cantu.

485

On the first layer of the left wall there are three lines in the section above door b' on both sides of which are two series of respectively three and two other lines. On this side however, the paintings have suffered very much from the Christians who damaged them with axes.

The first two lines above ι are yet covered by the upper *stratum*, but they must have got lost for the greater part.

Above the second *Leo* one can read already:

en . . . bsum[p]si
ans fec

Above entrance b' :

Dulc.a sicut fe . . na itu Mithra gubernat

P renatus . diit cibum atque cremium

. i . . ier . . tua . dicatis tu . po . iuvenu

A walking person (Lion) (Nama Leoni) is visible with a palm-branch in the hand.

Behind and above the *Leo* with the candle-sticks:

Primus e[t fug?]acius sine tu. ordine currit.

Viros servasti eternali sanguine fuso.

In .ero ut nascent .mina magna Mithra.

Above the mithraic meal:

Accipe thuricremos pater accipe sancte leones

pir quos tauradamus pir quos consumimur ipsi.

We call attention to the fact that this is only our preliminary reading of these highly interesting mithraic hymns. The definitive reading with commentary will be given after the removal of the upper layer of the paintings.

486

The upper part of a *Hekataion* (H. 0.08).

487

Marble triangle (L. 0.36 D. 0.135) with a semicircular opening in the middle.

488

Part of a naked Venus (H. 0.095).

489

Terracotta relief with the representation of Victoria, slaying a bull. A similar relief was found in 1953; it probably does not belong to the inventory of the Mithraeum.

490

Fragment of a marble piece of rock (H. 0.07 Br. 0.06), probably remnant of a rock-birth.

491

On a base the lower part of a *Gigant* with snake-feet. He is dressed in a short tunic and leans against a rock. On his l. arm traces of a shield. Bust, head and arms lost (See fig. 142).

492

Base (H. 0.42 diam. 0.09), composed of two vases on top of each other. It probably supported a statue.

493

A marble mortar (H. 0.125); pieces of glass; a great number of plates and dishes; moreover lamps, dating from the first four centuries. Most material however, belongs to the rubbish.

494

Strongly oxydised leaden plate (H. 0.55 Br. 0.43 D. 0.003), on which Sol is represented with seven rays round his curly head. Another head of Sol-Mithras in *intarsio* was found in 1954.

495

A big jar (H. 0.72 diam. 0.56), found in Z.

The upper part is detachable, so that another small cylindrical vase (H. 0.22 Br. 0.31) could be fitted into it. This limestone vase is covered with a lid, on which a graffito. It had a small round hole at the bottom (diam. 0.07), covered with green glass.

W. Vollgraff, *Une inscription gravée sur un vase cultuel mithriaque*, in *Med. Ak. Wet.* (N.R. 18, No 8) 1955 reads the graffito as follows:

Te cauterio i Saturne i Ata[r i] Opi.

496

Upper part of a goddess (Fortuna) of marble from Luna (H. 0.15). She has a *cornucopia* in her l.h. (See fig. 143).

497

Inscription on a marble slab (H. 0.24 Br. 0.63 D. 0.02).

Ferrua, 6. L.H. 0.04.

Deo Soli invicto Mithre(*sic!*) / quod saepe numini eius / ex audito gratias e

Probably to be supplied with: et vota reddere moniti sunt.

498

Graffito on the outside of the l.wall of the niche.

L.H. 0.05–0.06.

Natus prima luce / duobus augg. co(n)s(ulibus) / Severo et Anton[ino] / XII
k(alendas) decem[bres] / dies Saturni / luna XVIII.

20th November 202 A.D.

natus: I suppose a mystical sense.

499

Inscription on a marble slab (H. 0.21 Br. 0.67 D. 0.02), walled in the ledge of bench p. L.H. 0.04.

Inv(ictis) (duobus) d(ominis) au(gustis).

500

In the lower strata of sand of the Mithraeum, two coins of Commodus and one of his wife, Crispina, two of Diocletianus and one of Galerius, one of Constans and two of Valens were found. During the last excavations a coin of Claudius came to light.

501

Basis triquetra reperta a. 1727 in extremitate montis Aventini (in S. Balbina).
CIL VI 742; MMM II No. 55.

Invicto d(eo) Navarze / Terentius Priscus / P(ublii) f(ilius) / Eucheta curante / et
sacratīs / d(onum) d(edit) c(ompos) b(oti).

502

Tabula lapidis Tiburtini reperta anno 1740 in vinea sub aede D. Balbinae e
regione S. Gregorii.

CIL VI 659; MMM II No. 54a.

Salvis aug[ustis] / invictis sanc[to] / Silvano sacrum / T. Aelius Tryfon / sacerdos
Solis / invicti ex viso / fecit.

„On ne peut guère douter que le Sol invictus désigne ici le dieu perse” (Cumont).

ROMA (*Reg.* XI or XIII)

503

Fragment of a white statue (H. 0.34). Mus. Naz. Terme, Inv. No. 4239. Found
together with the following number during regularisation works in the Tiber.

MMM II 207 No. 22 and fig. 35; RRS III, 141, 3; Paribeni, *Terme Diocl.*, 140
No. 287. See fig. 144.

Figure of a naked Aion, whose body is entwined in three coils of a serpent. The
serpent's head rests just below the point, where the god crosses his arms on his
breast. In his l.h. a sceptre, in the r.h. two keys. Traces of gold colour(?). The head
and the legs, which he has pressed together, are lost.

504

White marble statuette (H. 0.49). Mus. Naz. Terme, Inv. No. 4237.

MMM II 207 No. 23; Paribeni, *Terme Diocl.*, No. 286. See fig. 145.

Standing Cautēs with upraised torch; cross-legged; at his feet a cock. On his tunic
traces of blue paint; on his cloak and trousers traces of red. Head and hands lost.
In the statue two holes are still visible, in which the torch was fixed. The greater
part of the torch has got lost.

505

The Museum of the Therms has also a marble statue of a cross-legged torch-
bearer (H. 0.58) in Eastern attire, cross-legged (Inv. No. 283). Head and feet are
lost. Broken torch in his upraised hand. It certainly comes from Rome, but we do
not know where it had been found. It may be the companion piece of the prece-
ding No., although it is somewhat larger. Our fig. 146 is from an original photo-
graph by Sansaini.

ROMA (*Reg.* XIV)

506

White marble statue (H. 1.35 Br. 0.39), found together with the following No.

in 1785 "5 Miglien vor Porta Portese in einer Grotte nah am Tiber" (Zoega). Then bought by Th. Jenkins, who presented it to Count Fries at Vienne; nowadays London, Br. M.

Guattani, *Mon. ant.*, 37, Pl. III; Clarac, *Mus. Sculpt.*, V, 69 and Pl. 827 No. 2083; Zoega, *Bass.*, II, 15 No. 4; Welcker in Zoega, *Abh.*, 94 n. 2; MMM II 209 No. 27 and Pl. II; Smith, *Cat. Br. Mus.*, 89 No. 1722; HGR 380. See fig. 147.

Torchbearer, restored as a Paris, in Eastern attire. He raises his torch; not cross-legged. Restorations: r. arm from the elbow down; r.h. with apple; l.h. with hook and details of hair and attire.

507

White marble statue (H. 1.46). Vatican, Mus. Chiaramonti, XXXIII, 5.

Guattani, *Mon. ant.*, 87ff, Taf. III; Massi, *Ind. ant.*, 91 No. 42; E. Q. Visconti, *Mus. Pio Clem.*, III, Pl. XXI; *Opere varie*, IV, 339 No. 115; Piranesi, *Mon. Nap.*, IV Pl. IV; Zoega and Welcker, *Abh.*, 94 n. 2; Clarac, *Mus. Sculpt.*, IV, 24 and Pl. 559 No. 1189; Gerhard-Platner, 204 No. 8; MMM II 209 No. 27 and Pl. II; RRS I 296, 1; Amelung, *Skulpt. Vat.*, I (3), 538 No. 352 and Taf. 56; Anderson, 1433 (see fig. 148).

Torchbearer, restored as a Paris. It may appear from the attitude, that he held the torch downwards with both hands; not cross-legged. Restorations: parts of face and attire, of the l. foot and trunk; the l.h. entirely.

508

Candelabrum of penthelic marble (H. 2.70), found in the sanctuary of the Syrian gods in 1803. At first at Rome in the house of a sculptor behind the Capitol, afterwards in Palazzo Giustiniani, further in the Coll. of Cardinal Fesch and from 1816 in Paris, Louvre, Inv. No. 2754.

Bouillon, *Mus. Ant.*, III, *Candélabres*, Pl. 3 No. 1; Clarac, *Mus. Sculpt.*, II, 946 and Pl. 257 No. 640; Pl. LXI No. 553 E; Froehner, *Not. Sculpt.*, 387 No. 424; MMM II 225 No. 59 and fig. 55; Gauckler, *Sanct. Syr.*, 159ff; Vermaseren, *Mithrasdienst Rome*, 85f.

The candelabrum has three legs, decorated with *acanthus*. On the three sides of the triangular base, the following representations:

- 1) Dressed bust of Sol with a crown of seven rays round his curly head.
- 2) Dressed bust of Luna with crescent on her head.
- 3) Bull, walking to the right.

In the top corners of this base griffon-heads. The shaft is richly decorated with *acanthus*-leaves.

Restorations: two griffon-heads and the upper part of the shaft.

Below Sol on the rim an inscription:

509

CIL VI 837; MMM II No. 38.

Doryphorus pater.

It is quite possible, that *Doryphorus* in the Syrian sanctuary dedicated this monument to Mithras. His name is also known from Ostia.

510

Basis marmorea. Trans Tiberim apud Aemilium pontem in ripa.

CIL VI 727; MMM II No. 34.

Soli invicto / Mithrae / pro salute Commodi / Antonini Aug(usti) domini n(ostri) / M. Aurel(ius) Stertinius / Carpus una cum Carpo / proc(uratore) k(astrensi) patre et Her/mioneo et Balbino fratribus v(otum) s(olvit) f(eliciter).

176–192 A.D.

511

Tabula marmorea.

CIL VI 2271; MMM II No. 35.

D(is) M(anibus) / L. Septimius Aug(ustorum trium) lib/(ertus) pater et sacerdos invicti / Mithrae domus augustanae / fecit sibi et Cosiae Primitivae / coniugi benemerenti libertis liberta/busque posterisq(ue) eorum.

Tres Augusti intelligendi sunt Severus et Antoninus Augusti et Geta Caesar. From this inscription it appears that Mithras had also found acceptance with the Imperial Court.

512

Parva ara marmorea in alveo Tiberis prope ripam dictam “muro nuovo” reperta.

CIL VI 31031; MMM II No. 89a.

Ara So/li [i]nvec/to res/ti[tuta].....

513

Two altars, found when digging for the foundations of the facade of S. Pietro's in 1609.

CIL VI 500; MMM II No. 19.

M(atri) d(eum) m(agnae) I(deae) / et Attidi meno/tyranno conser/vatoribus suis Cae/lius Hilarianus v(ir) c(larissimus) / duodecimbyr(sic!) / urbis Romae / p(ater) s(acrorum) et hieroceryx / i(nvicti) M(ithrae) s(acerdos) d(ei) L(iberi) / s(acerdos) d(eae) / Hecate / d(omino) n(ostro) Gratiano aug(usto) / et Merobaude / cons(ulibus) III idus / maias.

377 A.D.

514

CIL VI 504; MMM II No. 20.

Dis magnis /Ulpus Egnatius Faventinus / v(ir) c(larissimus) augur pub(licus)

p(opuli) r(omani) q(uiritium) pater et hieroceryx d(ei) s(olis) i(nvicti) M(ithrae) / archibucolus dei Liberi / hierofanta Hecatae sa/cerdos Isidis percepto / taurobolio criobolio(ue) / idibus augustis d(ominis) n(ostris) / Valente Aug(usto) V et Valentinia/no Aug(usto) co(n)s(ulibus) feliciter /

Vota Faventinus bis deni suscipit orbis

Ut mactet repetens aurata fronte bicornes.

376 A.D.

515

Marble altar, found in S. Peter's square some meters northern of the Apostle's statue in 1949.

Ghetti-Ferrua e.o., *Espl. S. Pietro*, 14f; *Ann. Ep.*, 1953 No. 238.

Diis magnis / M(atri) d(eum) m(agnae) I(daeae) / Attidi sancto menotyranno / Alfenius Ceionius Iulianus / Kamenius v(ir) c(larissimus) VII vir epul(onum) / pater et hieroceryx sacr(orum) s(ummi) i(nvicti) / Mitrae hierofanta Haecatae / arch(i)bucolus dei Liberi / aram taurobolio criobolio/que percepto dicabit / die XIII kal(endis) aug(ustis) d(omino) n(ostro) Gratiano / Aug(usto) III et Equitio cons(ulibu)s.

19th of July 374 A.D.; cf. CIL VI 499 = Dessau, No. 4147 from the same provenance and of the same date. The exact situation of the Phrygianum in the Vatican city is unknown, but Margherita Guarducci, *Cristo e S. Pietro in un documento precostantiniano della Necropoli Vaticana*, Roma 1953, 66 holds it to be situated probably "a sinistra dell' odierna gradinata fra l'arco delle Campane e il Camposanto Teutonico".

Alfenius Ceionius Iulianus Kamenius died in Antium in 395 A.D. (see No. 206). He occurs in the following inscription, which certainly belongs to the same sanctuary. Cf. O. Seeck in *RE* III col. 1864 No. 31; H. Bloch in *HTHR* XXXVIII, 1945, 211.

516

CIL VI 1675; MMM II No.24.

Cippus marmoreus.

Kamenii-Alfenio Ceionio Iuliano / Kamenio v(iro) c(larissimo) q(uaestori) k(andidato) praetori tri(umfali) VIIviro epulonum mag(istro) / p(atri) s(a)cr(orum) summi invicti Mitrai(sic!) ierofante Aecate arc(hi)b(ucolo) dei Lib(eri) XV / viro s(acris) [f(aciundis)] tauroboliato d(eum) M(atris) pontifici maiori consula/ri provinciae Numidiae / iustitiae eius provisioni/bus(que) confotis omnibus / dio-ceseos / ...gentilis p...m.... Restutus cornicularius cum cartularis officii statuam / in domo sub aere posuerunt.

517

Ara marmorea in domo quadam quae est a dextra vici Iudaeorum in platea vulgo di Branco paulo post palatium Cardinalis di Bologna.

CIL VI 734; 30822; MMM II No. 48.

Deo / invicto / Mithrae / C. Lucretius Mnester / M. Aemilius Philetus / sum(sic!)

m(agisterio) anni primi / M. Aemilii Chrysanti / d(e) s(uo) d(onum) d(ederunt).

Left: ears; right: poppies.

This altar belongs to the same sanctuary as the following Nos 518–519.

518

Parva ara marmorea.

CIL VI 556; MMM II No. 48*bis*.

Orienti / Fructus Ponti (servus) / cum Myrone [f(ilio)] / sub M. Aemilio / Chrysantho / mag(istro) anni primi.

Probably these monuments were found along the Tiber together with the following No.

519

Ara marmorea reperta ad Tiberim ad S. Mariam Monticelli.

CIL VI 717; MMM II No. 47.

Soli / invicto / M. Aemilius/ M(arcorum duorum) l(ibertus) Chrysanthus / mag(ister) anni primi et / M. Limbricius Polides / dec(urio) et sodalicio eius / d(e) (suo) d(onum) d(ederunt).

Right a *patera*; left an *urceus*.

dec.: Cumont replaces it by *deo*.

*MONUMENTS, PROBABLY FOUND AT ROME AND PRESERVED
THERE*

ROMA

520

Ara marmorea grandis in montium regione apud ecclesias S. Iohannis in claro polo vulgariter in carapula.

CIL VI 510; MMM II No. 17.

Dis / magnis / Matri deum et Attidi Se/xtilius Agesilaus Aedesius / v(ir) c(larissimus) pa/ter patrum dei solis invic/ti Mithrae hierophanta/ Hecatar(um) dei Liberi archibucolus taurobolio / criobolioque in aeter/num renatus aram sacra/vit d(ominis) n(ostris) Valen/te V et Valentiniano / iun(iore) aug(ustis) cons(ulibus) idib(us) / augustis.

We omitted the public offices of Aedesius.
376 A.D.

521

CIL VI 2151; MMM II No. 18. In base hortorum Iulii III.

Iunio Postumiano v(iro) c(larissimo) p(atri) p(atrum) / dei solis invicti Mithre(sic) / XV viro s(acris) f(aciundis) pontifici dei solis ordo sacer/dotum magistro suo/ curante et dedicante / Flavio Herculeo viro / religiosissimo.

Ordo sacerdotum mihi videtur esse corpus initiatorum mysteriis mithriacis fortasse superni tantum gradus, qui sunt patres. Nam pater patrum magister quoque dicitur. . . .

Iunius Postumianus distinguendus a Postumiano praefecto praetorio a 383, quem Gothofredus testimonio Gregorii Nazianzeni christianum fuisse probavit (Henzen).

522

Magna ara in domo Angeli Cottii ad aquam Virginem.

CIL VI 511; MMM II No. 21.

M(atri) d(eorum) m(agnae) I(daeae) et Attidi Menoturanno s(acrum).

Nobilis in causis forma celsusq(ue) Sabinus

Hic pater Invicti mystica victor habet,

Sermo duos. reservans

Consimiles aufert.

Et veneranda movet Cibeles triodeia signa:

Augentur meritis simbola tauroboli.

R(ufius) Cae(i)oni(us) Cae(ioni?) Sabini f(ilius) v(ir) c(larissimus) p(ontifex) m(aior) hierof(anta) d(eae) Hecat(ae) aug(ur) / pub(licus) p(opuli) R(omani) Q(uiritium) pater sacror(um) invict(i) Methrae(sic) tauroboliatu(s) / M(atris) d(eum) m(agnae) Id(aeae) et Attidis Minotiranni et aram IIII id(us) mart(ias) / Gratiano V et Merobaude consulibus dedicabit.

Antiqua generose domo, cui regia Vestae
Pontifici felix sacrato militat igne,
Idem augur, triplicis cultor venerande Dianae,
Persidiciq(ue) Mithrae antistes Babilonie templi,
Tauroboliq(ue) simul magni dux mistice sacri.

377 A.D.

523

CIL VI 507; MMM II No. 22. Locus non indicatur.

D(ominis) n(ostris) Constantino / et Maximino aug(ustis) III co(n)s(ulibus) / G(aius) Magius Donatus / Severianus v(ir) c(larissimus) / pater sacrorum / invicti Mithrae / hierophantes / Liberi patris et / Hecatarum / t[au]robolium feci / XVII k[a]l(endas) maias.

313 A.D.

524

Altar with a Greek dedication to the Magna Mater and Attis (CIG 6012b; Kaibel, *ISI* 1018) and a Latin inscription.

CIL VI 509; MMM II No. 23.

Petronius Apol[lo]dorus v(ir) c(larissimus) / pontif(ex) maior X[V vir s]acr(is) fac(iundis) / pater sacr(or)um dei in[vi]cti Mithrae / taurobolio criob[oli]oq(ue) percepto / una cum Ruf(ina?) Vol[us]iana c(larissima) f(emina) con/iuge XVI kal(endas) Iu[lia]s d(ominis) n(ostris) / Valentiniano et Val[ente] aug(ustis) III co(n)s(ulibus) / aram dic[a]vit.

370 A.D.

525

Base of bluish marble (H. 1.20 Br. 0.50–0.60). Formerly in the garden of the Villa Giustiniani “ad portam Flaminiam”, now in the Vatican Musea, Cortile della Pigna.

Zoega, *Abh.*, 395 No. 1; Maionica, *Felsengeburt*, No. 15; MMM II 208 No. 25 and fig. 36; cf. 480 No. 25; Pettazzoni in *AntC* XVIII, 1949, Pl. VI fig. 12.

On a base with inscription (No. 526) a round pedestal, with a snake wound around it, biting its own tail. The snake is bearded and has a crest with six rays. There are four holes in the four corners of the base, which are left free by the round elevation (diam. 0.55). Although the surface of this elevation is smooth, it is yet probable, that the whole served to support a statue, presumably one of Aion.

526

CIL VI 724; MMM II No. 29.

Numini invicto / Soli Mithrae / M. Aurelius Aug(usti) l(ibertus) Euprepes una cum / filis suis d(onum) d(edit) / sacerdote Calpurnio / Ianuario. Dedicata VII kal(endas) maias imp(eratore) / L. Septimio Severo Pertin(aci) II / [D(ecio) Cl(audio) Septimio Albino] II co(n)s(ulibus).

194 A.D.

The hypothesis, that this monument should have been found together with the other Mithras-monuments of the Collection in the Villa Giustiniani, is very doubtful. The exact find-spot is unknown, but it is assumable to have been found together with the following No.

527

Cippus marmoreus.

CIL VI 723; MMM II No. 28.

M(arcus) Aurelius / Aug(usti) lib(ertus) Euprepes / Soli invicto Mi/thrae aram / ex viso posuit / prosidentibus Bi/ctorino patre et Ia/nuario. Dedicata / IIII non(as) iunias L(ucio) Eggi/o Maryllo et Cn(aeo) Papi/rio Ailiano co(n)s(ulibus).

184 A.D.

528

Ara marmorea in hortis Iustineaneis ad portam Flaminiam.

CIL VI 744; MMM II No. 67.

Soli invicto / Mithrae / Vestalis / Caes(aris) n(ostri) serv(us) / et C. Vettius Augustalis / d(onum) d(ederunt).

As to the double *cognomen* of *liberti*: Hülsen in *RM* III, 222ff.; cf. No. 362.

529

White marble relief (H. 0.50 Br. about 0.60), walled in the back-wall of the Casino of the Villa Giustiniani (nowadays Massimi-P. Lancelotti).

Welcker in Zoega, *Abh.*, 394; Matz-v. Duhn, III No. 3760, who confuses it with the following No.; MMM II 218 No. 45.

In a cave Mithras, slaying the bull, whose tail ends in a number of ears. The torchbearers, the dog, the serpent and the scorpion on the usual places; the raven is perched on Mithras' flying cloak. In the upper corners the busts of Sol in radiate crown and of Luna in crescent. Both are turned to the right.

530

Relief (H. 0.82 Br. 1.66). Was in 1793 in Palazzo Giustiniani. According to an information of Franz Cumont, it was found when the building was fitted up as an office of the Senate in 1929.

Documenti inediti per servire alla Storia dei Musei d'Italia, IV, 419; *Galleria*

Giustiniani, II, Roma 1640, Pl. 82; Welcker in Zoega, *Abh.*, 394; MMM II 230 No. 68 and fig. 61.

Mithras, slaying the bull while he is grasping it at one of its horns. The dog with its head near the wound; the serpent and the scorpion and the torchbearers on the usual places. Before the feet of Cautes (l) a *krater* on the ground. Both torchbearers in Eastern attire and cross-legged.

531

White marble statue (H. 0.92 Br. 0.74). Formerly in the Museum Kircherianum, nowadays Mus. Naz. Terme, Inv. No. 65196.

Zoega, *Abh.*, 148 No. 7; MMM II 217, No. 43; Helbig, *Führer*, II 280 No. 1659; Paribeni, *Terme Diocl.*, 139 No. 283. See fig. 149 (*Sansaini*).

Mithras, slaying the bull. The dog and the serpent hold their heads near the blood from the wound; the scorpion on the usual place. On Mithras' Eastern attire traces of red-paint.

532

Relief of bluish marble (H. about 0.66 Br. 1.02), walled in the back-wall of the Casino of the Villa Doria Pamphili.

Zoega, *Abh.*, 149 No. 18; Matz-v. Duhn III, 142 No. 3757; MMM II 217 No. 44 and fig. 48; Schiavo, *Villa Doria*, 66 fig. 52.

In a cave Mithras, slaying the bull, whose tail ends in three ears. Beside the feet of Cautes (l), who leans against the rock-face, a cock and a pine-cone; beside Cautopates (r) a sheaf of corn and a sickle. The two torchbearers are standing cross-legged. The dog and the serpent hold their heads near the blood from the wound; the scorpion is at the testicles; the raven is perched on the god's flying cloak. In the l. upper corner Sol in a *quadriga*, of which the horses' heads are visible only; in the other corner Luna in a descending *biga*, drawn by two oxen. Sol has a radiate crown, Luna a crescent behind her shoulders.

533

Marble relief (H. 0.70 Br. 0.96). At first in the Palazzo Gioia, afterwards the Palazzo Alberoni, nowadays the Palazzo Vaccari, Via del Tritone beside the Church of SS. Angeli Custodi's, walled in the hall above the door. I did not find it again.

Turre, *Mon. Vet. Antii*, 159 No. 1; Eichhorn, *de deo Sole*, Pl. 2; Zoega, *Abh.*, 149 No. 21; de Hammer, *Mithriaca*, 82 No. IV (gives erroneously Antium as the find-spot); Matz-v. Duhn III, 140 No. 3751; MMM II 218 No. 46.

Mithras, slaying the bull. The raven is perched on the god's cloak. The serpent, the dog and the scorpion. In the upper corners the busts of Sol and Luna.

534

White marble relief (H. 0.95 Br. 1.85), walled in the Palazzo Mattei under the arches of the inner court, to the right of the entrance.

Monumenta Matheiana, Roma 1778, III, Pl. 1; Turre, *Mon. Vet. Antii*, 159; Zoega, *Abh.*, 149 No. 22; Matz-v. Duhn III, 141 No. 3756; MMM II 218f No. 47 and fig. 49; RRR III, 299, 2. See fig. 150.

In a cave Mithras in the usual attitude and attire, slaying the bull. The dog and the serpent near the wound; the scorpion at the testicles; the raven on the rocky cave. Cautes with upraised torch stands behind the bull; Cautopates on the other side with his torch downwards. Both are cross-legged.

The upper half of the relief is restored: Mithras' head; the upper border of the cave and two trees; the globe, on which the dog is standing; the greater part of the serpent. Mithras' dagger and a part of Cautopates' torch have got lost.

535

Fragment of a white marble group (H. 0.65 Br. 0.85). Kept in the inner court of the former Albergo Constanzi, nowadays Collegio Germanico.

Matz-v. Duhn I, 449 No. 1575; MMM II 219 No. 48.

On a base, on which an inscription, Mithras, slaying the bull. The bull's nostrils, tail and legs are lost; Mithras' l. knee and traces of his r. leg have been preserved only. Some remnants of the serpent.

536

CIL VI 31049.

deum sibi sua pecunia

537

Fragment of a small white marble relief (H. 0.26 Br. 0.28), walled in the inner court of the Palazzo Rondinini, now Palazzo Sanseverino, Corso No. 518.

Zoega, *Abh.*, 149 No. 24; Matz-v. Duhn III, 143 No. 3761; MMM II 219 No. 49.

Mithras, slaying the bull. The dog, the serpent and the scorpion.

538

White marble statuette (H. 0.82 Br. 0.17). In the Casino of the Villa Borghese, Sala I, No. 6.

MMM II 219 No. 50.

Torchbearer, damaged and restored as a Paris. Restorations: head, r. arm, calves and feet, the lower part of the cloak; the base.

539

Fragment of a relief. Villa Wolkonsky.

Matz-v. Duhn III, 140 No. 3752; MMM II 219f No. 52.

The usual representation of Mithras, slaying the bull. The dog, the serpent and the scorpion. On the base some vague letters. The bull's head, Mithras' head and r. foot are lost.

540

Relief (H. 0.67 Br. 0.60). Villa Wolkonsky.

Matz-v. Duhn III, 140 No. 3759; MMM II 220 No. 53.

Mithras, slaying the bull. The serpent is creeping over the ground.

541

MMM I 364, 78*b* mentions a relief (H. 0.72 Br. 0.39 D. 0.07) of the Galleria S. Giorgi (Palazzo Borghese), which may represent Mithras-Mên. The god is dressed in Eastern attire and holds in his r.h. a torch. In his l.h. he raises a bust of Luna with a crescent behind her head. Nowadays in the Mus. Naz. Terme (Paribeni, *Terme Diocl.*, 135 No. 269 (56200)). See fig. 151.

542

White marble relief (H. and Br. about 1.20). Museo Torlonia. I have not been allowed to study any of the monuments of the Torlonia-Collection. This relief, according to Zoega, dates from the days of Commodus, and may have belonged to a same Mithraeum as well as the two following Nos.

Morcelli-Fea-Visconti, *Villa Alb.*, No. 921; Winckelmann, *Storia Dis.*, 30, 1, Pl. XVI, *cf.* 156 No. 1; Müller, *Mithras*, fig. 16 (erroneously states that this reproduction is taken from de Montfaucon); Zoega, *Bass.*, Pl. LVIII; *Abh.*, 148 No. 13 and 126f; Millin, *Gall. Myth.*, XVIII No. 82; Creuzer, *Symb.*, (transl. Guign.), Pl. XXVI No. 131; Lajard, Pl. LXXVII, 2; MMM II 215 No. 38 and fig. 45; Eitrem in *Symb.Osl.*, 1928, 77, fig. 5.

Mithras in the traditional attitude and attire kills the bull, whose tail ends in two ears. The dog and the serpent near the wound; the raven on Mithras' cloak. It is remarkable, that apart from the scorpion a large ant grasps the testicles. Both torchbearers are not represented. In the upper corners the heads of Sol in radiate crown and of Luna with a diadem in her hair.

Restorations: Mithras' r. arm and the greater part of his dagger; l. arm; the bull's head and half of the dog.

543

White marble relief (H. 0.78 Br. 0.28), Museo Torlonia.

Raffei, *Oss.*, Pl. III, 1; *Diss.*, 130ff; E. Q. Visconti, *Mus. Pio Clem.*, II, Pl. 19; Morcelli, *Villa Alb.*, No. 55*b*; Zoega, *Bass.*, II, Pl. LIX; *Abh.*, 199f No. 3; Lajard, Pl. LVII, 2; MMM II 215f No. 39 and fig. 46; RRR III, 142, 4; Eisler, *Weltenmantel*, II, 437 fig. 53; Leipoldt, XVI and fig. 37; Alinari, 27619. See fig. 152.

Naked Aion with lion's head is standing on a globe. His body is encircled by two crossed bands on which five pearls. On this head rests the head of a serpent, which holds the figure entwined in six coils. Two pair of wings are attached to hips and shoulders in opposite direction. In his l.h. he holds a long sceptre, on either side of which a knob. It is divided into twelve parts by a spiral. With the other hand he presses a key with five holes against his breast. In the l. upper corner a star; the other corner is broken off. The mouth-aperture penetrates the marble.

544

White marble statue (H. 0.59 Br. 0.20 base). Museo Torlonia, walled in beside the preceding No.

Raffei, *Oss.*, Pl. IV, 2; Clarac, *Mus. Sculpt.*, IV, 26 and Pl. 562B, 1193A; Zoega, *Bass.*, II, 37, *Abh.*, 199ff No. 4; Morcelli, *Villa Alb.*, No. 561; Lajard, *Intr.*, Pl. LXXI, 3; *Mémoire Vénus*, 110 and Pl. XVIII; MMM II 216 No. 40 and fig. 47; Eisler, *Weltenmantel*, II, 412 fig. 49.

On a cone, decorated with a crescent, a figure is standing with lion's head, and a pair of wings, attached to shoulders and feet (Aion). He is entwined in seven coils of a serpent, which rests its head on the god's. He presses his claw-like hands against his body and wears on his breast a belt with hooks (lightning?). Each hand grasps a key with five holes (l. broken). Lost: r. foot-wing and half of one the serpent's coils. The mouth-aperture penetrates the marble.

545

White marble statue (H. 1.55 Br. 0.37 base). Formerly in the Villa Albani; nowadays in the Vatican Musea, near the entrance of the former Library.

Raffei, *Diss.*, 130 and Pl. III, 2; E. Q. Visconti, *Mus. Pio Clem.*, II, Pl. XIX; Clarac, *Mus. Sculpt.*, Pl. 560, 1192 and 1192 A (before and after the restorations) and IV, 26; Millin, *Gall. Myth.*, cf. 66; Zoega, *Abh.*, 203f No 5; Lajard, Pl. LXXII; MMM II 214f No. 37 and figs. 43-44; RRS I 296, 4; Leipoldt, XVI and fig. 38; Alinari, 35667. See fig. 153.

A naked trunk in three coils of a serpent. Four signs of the zodiac, two on the breast (*Aries* and *Libra*) and one on each thigh (*Cancer* and *Capricornus*). Added are: lion's head, two wings, the arms and legs with two coils of the serpent, and finally the cloak, on which Aion is standing.

546

White marble relief (H. and Br. about 0.75). Vatican Museum, walled in the Cortile del Belvedere.

Massi, *Ind. Ant.*, 200 No. 33; Zoega, *Abh.*, 149 No. 14; Lajard, Pl. LXXVIII, 2; MMM II 211 No. 29 and fig. 38; Amelung, *Skulpt. Vat.*, II (2), 178f No. 72 and Taf. 19. See fig. 154.

In a cave Mithras, slaying the bull, whose tail ends in three ears. Above Mithras' flying cloak his bow and quiver. On the border of the cave the raven is perched. Further the scorpion at the testicles; the serpent creeping over the ground; the dog with hanging tongue running towards the bull.

In the upper corners, outside the cave-vault, the bust of Sol in *nimbus* and crown of seven rays, and the bust of Luna with a crescent behind her shoulders, on the horns of which are stars.

The noses of Mithras and Sol are added; Luna's nose got lost. Slight traces of a reddish painting. In a field below the scene an inscription:

547

CIL VI 721; 30820; MMM II No. 68.

Soli invicto deo / Atimetus Aug(ustorum) n(ostrorum) ser(vus) act(uarius) prae-diorum Romanianorum.

548

White marble statue (H. 1.50 Br. 1.80). Rome, at first at the sculptor V. Pacetti, who restored it thoroughly together with Franzoni; afterwards to the Vatican under Pius VI. Sala dei Animali, No. 150. Second cent.

E. Q. Visconti, *Museo Pio Clem.*, VII, Pl. 7; Clarac, *Mus. Sculpt.*, I, 25 and Pl. 56 No. 1190; Duruy, *Hist. Rom.*, V, 748; Zoega, *Abh.*, 146 No. 1; Fea, *Nuova Descr.*, 102; Gerhard-Platner, 160 No. 15; MMM II 209 No. 28 and fig. 37; RRS, 296, 5/6; Ripostelli, *Terme Caracalla*, fig.; Amelung, *Skulpt. Vat.*, II (2), 337 No. 124 and Pl. 32; Leipoldt, fig. 13; HGR, 379; Anderson, 1412; Alinari, 6649. See fig. 155.

Mithras in usual attitude and attire, slaying the bull. The dog and the serpent hold their heads near the wound from which the blood abundantly flows. The scorpion at the testicles of the erected pizzle. Added are: Mithras' head, cloak, r. foot, arms, hands and nose; the bull's muzzle, forelegs and tail, the r. hindleg with a part of the base; the dog and the serpent except a part on the base.

549

Fragment (H. 0.28 Br. 0.20 D. 0.05) of a small white marble relief (H. about 0.35 Br. about 0.50). Mus. Lateran, Inv. No. 301A.

Gerhard-Platner, 60 No. 316; MMM II 213 No. 33; Amelung, *Skulpt. Vat.*, I (3), 520 No. 318 and Taf. 54.

Only the front has been preserved. In a cave Mithras, slaying the bull. Preserved the bull's head and the upper part of Cautopates who points his torch downwards with both hands. In the upper corner the bust of Luna with crescent behind her shoulders.

550

White marble statuette (H. 0.41 Br. 0.17). Mus. Lateran, Inv. No. 319A.

MMM II 213 No. 34; Amelung, *Skulpt. Vat.*, I (4), 693 No. 571a with Taf. 74. See fig. 156.

Standing Aion with lion's head and four wings, two of which are pointing upwards, two downwards. He is entwined in seven coils of the serpent, which rests its head on the god's. Both hands lost. All over the figure, traces of red paint.

551

White marble statuette (H. 0.79 Br. 0.20 base). Formerly in Muti's gardens near the Villa Ludovisi, nowadays Lateran Mus., Inv. No. 318A.

Kircher, *Oed. Aeg.*, III, 504 and fig.; Raffei, *Oss.*, 24ff probably describes the same monument, which according to him comes from the Casa Carpegna (Amelung); Zoega, *Abh.*, 204 No. 6; Winckelmann, *Mon. Ant. Ined.*, III, 131; MMM II 214 No. 35 and fig. 41; Amelung, *Skulpt. Vat.*, I (4), 94 No. 573 and Taf. 74; RRS III, 266, 8; Leipoldt, XVI and fig. 39. See fig. 157.

On a hemisphere a figure with lion's head; with each hand, which he presses tightly against his body, he grasps a key. The lower part of his body is covered by a loincloth, knotted on his stomach, and entwined in four coils of the serpent, which rests its head on the god's (Aion). The wings are lacking.

552

Fragment of grey marble (L. about 0.70), "*olim in cavaedio palatii Caponii*". Nowadays Vatican Musea, Gall. Lap. *Dii*, No. 11.

MMM II 214 No. 36 and fig. 42.

The r. corner of a marble slab. On two arched borders an inscription. In the blank space, a leaping ox.

553

CIL VI 747; MMM No. 52: "in fragmento aediculae marmoreae".

.... sacerdos(?) i]nvicti numinis Mithrae/ [... aedicula(?)]m cum columnis d(onum) d(edit).

554

White marble relief (H. 0.43 Br. 0.72 D. 0.05), broken in two. Vatican Musea, Sala dei Animali, No. 149.

Zoega, *Abh.*, 149 No. 15; Gerhard-Platner, 198 No. 34; MMM II 211f No. 31; Amelung, *Skulpt. Vat.*, II (1), 46 No. 17 and Taf. 5. See fig. 158 (*Sansaini*).

In a cave Mithras, slaying the bull, whose tail ends in three ears. Dog and serpent near the wound; the scorpion on the usual place; the raven is perched on the border of the cave. In the upper corners Sol (l) in diadem and radiate crown, driving upwards in a *quadriga*; on the other side Luna (r) with crescent behind her shoulders, descending in a chariot and urging the two oxen on with a whip. On the lower rim, between two palm-branches an inscription:

555

Kaibel, *ISI*, 1272; *MMM II* No. 39.

Χρῆστος πατήρ καὶ Γαῦρος ἐποίησαν.

ἐποίησαν in the sense of *consacraverunt*.

556

White marble relief (H. about 0.75 Br. about 0.50). Vatican Musea, Loggia Scoperta, No. 18.

Massi, *Ind. Ant.*, 73; Zoega, *Abh.*, 149 No. 16; 159, 166ff, 171f, 177; Pistolesi, V, Taf. LXXX; Gerhard-Platner, 195 No. 10; *MMM II* 236 and 484 No. 74; Amelung, *Skulpt. Vat.*, II (4), 737f No. 18 and Taf. 83; Saxl, 39 n. 2 and fig. 125. See fig. 159.

In a cave, the representation of Mithras, slaying the bull, which wears a broad belt round its body. The raven is perched on the god's flying cloak; the dog, the serpent and the scorpion on the usual places. Cautes stands before the bull; Cauto-pates on the other side, grasping with his left the bull's tail. Both are not cross-legged. Above the latter Mithras, carrying the bull. Above the bull's head, Mithras' rock-birth (restored as Venus *anaduomene*).

In the small *akroteria* the busts of Sol (l) and Luna (r). On the lower rim Luna in a chariot, drawn by two oxen; and Sol (r) in a *quadriga*. Between them a third group is visible, in which Mithras is to be recognised, who is running towards a person, kneeling before him (Sol).

Restorations: Mithras' head, r. shoulder, r.h., foremost part of l. arm; the bull's head and neck; nearly the whole Cautes; part of the carried bull; head and arms of Mithras *petragenes*.

557

Black marble statue (H. 0.60–0.70 with base; Br. 0.83). At first in the Villa Montalto-Negrone-Massimi; then at the sculptor Carlo Albacini, nowadays in the Vatican Musea, Sala dei Animali, No. 94.

Visconti, *Mus. Pio Clem.*, III, 28; Zoega, *Abh.*, 148 No. 5c; 169; Lajard, *Intr.*, Pl. XCVIII, 2; Gerhard-Platner, 68 No. 462; *MMM II* 211 No. 30 and fig. 39; RRS II, 476, 5; III, 266, 2; Amelung, *Skulpt. Vat.*, I (4), 614 No. 464 and Taf. 65; Moscioni, 5273. See fig. 160.

Mithras in the usual attitude and attire as a bullkiller. The dog licks the blood from the wound; the serpent crawls over the ground; the scorpion is not clearly visible. Behind this group the dressed upper part of a woman's body emerges from a rock. If we leave aside the false restoration of the head, then we must picture to ourselves the statue as framed by a rocky border and by the side of it the busts of Sol (l) and Luna (r). The statue has been restored several times e.o.: the head and a part of Mithras' cloak, the upper part of his body; the bull's head, neck and l. foreleg; the dog, except its head and the foremost part of its l. foreleg. The serpent's head is broken off.

558

Two white marble reliefs (H. 1.00 Br. 0.40). In Palazzo Corsetti, "behind a railing under the flight of stairs".

MMM II 219 No. 51 who supposes, that they might be the same as those, which are quoted by Zoega, *Abh.*, 148 No. 12 and which formerly were in the Villa Borghese; Matz-v. Duhn III, No. 3754.

Two torchbearers in the usual attitude and attire. The torches are broken off (Cautes and Cautopates).

559

Marble head. Museo Baracco.

Cat. Baracco, No. 157; Cumont in *RA*, 1947, 7f and figs. 4–5; Becatti, *Mitrei Ostia*, Pl. XXXIII, 3–4.

The head, as well as several others, is explained as an "Alexander". It is however, very probably a Mithras' head, lifting his eyes towards heaven. The back of the head is finished obliquely and in the middle of it there is a small hole in which the Phrygian cap may have been fastened.

560

Head in fine grained marble (H. 0.18). Vatican Musea, Magazzini.

Kaschnitz-Weinberg, *Sculpt. Mag.*, 78 No. 150 and Tav. XXXIII.

Curly head in Phrygian cap to the left. Grievous expression. Probably a head of Mithras.

Cf. a similar head from Egypt at Tübingen (No. 104).

561

Tabula marmorea. Mus. Vat. Gall. Lap.

CIL VI 80; MMM II No. 46.

Invicite(*sic!*) Cele/sti Uranie dona po(suerunt) / G...Gi... fi(lius?) V...VI... fi(lius) / leones.

"Entre la seconde et la troisième ligne se trouvent quatre pieds, deux à l'endroit et deux à l'envers, signe que la dédicace a été faite *pro itu et reditu* de deux personnes" (Cumont).

562

Lamella aerea. Ad urbem eam pertinere probabile. "Trovato questo di 7 agosto 1729 tra i bronzi del sig. Andreiini."

CIL VI 711; MMM II No. 114.

Soli sanctissimo / C. Veratius Faustinus / miles coh(ortis) III pr(aetoriae) / d(onum) d(edit).

563

Ara marmorea in aedibus Maffaeiorum.

CIL VI 746; MMM II No. 51.

Ara posita asstante sacerdote Se[x(to)] / Creusina Se[c]undo ut voverant Ma/xi-mus et Maximinus fili imp(eratore) Comm/odo au(gusto) pio felice IIII et Victorino II co(n)s(ulibus).

Below it:

Soli inbicto Mitre / M. Ulp(ius) Maximus prae/positus tabellari/orum aram cum / suis ornamentis / et bela domini / insicnis habentes (*sic!*) / n(umero) IIII / ut voverat d(onum) d(edit).

183 A.D.

De velis domini (sc. Mithrae) insignia habentibus, cf. an inscr. from Ostia, No. 233.

564

Ara lapide Tiburtino. In hortis Perettianis.

CIL VI 745; MMM II No. 53.

Soli invicto / Mithrae / Victor vilicus / praedior(um) Maecianor(um) / d(onum) d(edit) / et sacerdoti / M. Stlaccio Rufo / dedicavit VII id(us) april(es) / Aur(elio) Commodo co(n)s(ule) / curante Hermete / conser(vo).

sacerdoti instead of *sacerdote*.

154 or 177 A.D.

565

In domo dominorum de Vellis iuxta moniales Carmelitas. Nunc in Thermis Diocletiani.

CIL VI 590; 30799; MMM II No. 54.

Silvano / donum / dedit.

Reverse:

M. Aure/lius Bas/sus s(a)c(er)d(os) / Solis de s/uo fecit / acua(m) sa/lire.

Cf. the construction in the cult-niche of S. Prisca's (Nos 476; 478). Bassus, cf. Nos 568; 581.

566

Tabula marmorea.

CIL VI 730; MMM II No. 56.

Deo Soli invicto / Mytrae Felix Messala / cum omnes sacratos Catel/lus et Dianus posuerunt.

L. and r. a branch.

567

Tabula marmorea.

CIL VI 3722a; 31038; MMM II No. 57.

Brumasius / deo mesa posuit / salbum / patre cum / [o]mnis byyris / [sa]cratis.

“Rossius ethnicam esse iudicat et Mithrae cultum respicientem. Mensam posuit salvo patre (*sc. sacrato Mithrae*) cum omnibus viris sacratis”.

568

Kaibel, ISI, 997; MMM II No. 79.

Ἡλίῳ ἀνικῆτῳ [Μίθρᾱ? δ. .] / Βαλβίλλος ἡσυχάτο[ς] / ἐξ ὑδάτω[ν] σωθεὶς
Δ. . . / ATANENKA λέοντι / ἐπὶ Βάσσου ἱερέως.

l. 2: *evocatus*.

l. 4: the mithraic grade of Leo. ἔνεκα λέοντι? (Cumont).

Cf. CIL VI 1222; MMM II No. 78, where Bassus is mentioned in an inscription, in which *Sol invictus* occurs as well, *cf.* No. 581. Balbillus, *cf.* CIL VI 708; 2269; 2270; MMM II Nos 120–122; CIL VI 2129; 2130; MMM II Nos. 118–119.

569

Ara marmorea. Mus. Capitolini. Under Sol's bust an inscription.

CIL VI 715; MMM II No. 82.

Soli invicto deo / ex voto suscepto / accepta missione / honesta ex nume/ro
eq(uitum) sing(ularium) Aug(usti) P. / Aelius Amandus / d(onum) d(edit) Tertullo
et / Sacertoti co(n)s(ulibus).

158 A.D.

570

Arula marmorea quadrata in aedibus Volterrae in monte Pincio.

CIL VI 729; MMM II No. 86.

Q. Codius Philo / Soli invicto / ex voto pro/misso / d(onum) d(edit).

571

Parva basis.

CIL VI 739; MMM II No. 87.

Deo / Soli invicto / P. Pomponius / Clitus / ex voto.

572

Basis marmorea. In ecclesia S. Thomae in Monte Caelio.

CIL VI 720; MMM II No. 85.

Soli / invicto / L. Arrius / Rufinus / d(onum) d(edit).

573

Ara cui tympanum deest in domo Francisci Novelli apud S. Marcum.

CIL VI 740; MMM II No. 84.

Soli invicto / sacrum / T. Pomponius / Repentinus / nomenclator / tensar(ius)
iugaris / s(ua) p(ecunia) d(onum) d(edit). / Dedicatum XV k(alendas) iul(ias) /

Marullo et Aeliano co(n)s(ulibus) / Ob dedic(ationem) sportulas dedit singul(as)
(denarios) II.

184 A.D.

574

Ara marmorea.

CIL VI 741; MMM II No. 70.

Soli Mithrae(*sic*) / aram d(onum) d(edit) / Ralonius / Diadumenus.

575

In S. Ioannis de Mercato.

CIL VI 3726; 31044; MMM II No. 71.

Sancto invicto Mithrae / C. Tullius Trophimianus / d(onum) d(edit).

576

Prati di Castello.

CIL VI 31040; MMM II No. 72.

S(oli) in(victo) M(ithrae) / L. Domitius Frontinus / d(onum) d(edit).

577

In vinea Cardinalis Carpensis.

CIL VI 714; MMM II No. 74.

D(eo) i(nvicto) M(ithrae) S(oli)

578

Romae apud SS. Apostolos in arula.

Kaibel, *ISI* 999; MMM II No. 75.

*Ἡλίῳ Μίθρᾳ ἀνικήτῳ.

Quae Ligorius addidit de suo haec sunt:

Τ. Ἀντίστιος Τ. οὐῖος Στελ(λατίνᾳ) Σευηριανὸς ἀνέθηκεν (Kaibel).

579

Basis marmorea pessimis litteris. In ecclesia S. Mariae de Cacabariis.

CIL VI 1358; MMM II No. 104.

M. Aur(elio) Victori / c(larissimo) v(iro) / praef(ecto) feriar(um) / Latin(arum)
sacerdoti / dei Solis / religiosissimo / Iovinus Callidianus / condiscipul(us) patrono
dignissimo.

580

Arula marmorea in aedibus custodis Cancellariae.

CIL VI 703; MMM II No. 107.

Soli sacr(um) / C. Iulius / Helius / ferrarius / voto / suscepto / d(onum) d(edit).
Left an *urceus*, right a *patera*.

581

Ara ut videtur. Locus non indicatur.

CIL VI 704; MMM II No. 108.

P. Octavius / Bassus / Soli / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

P. Octavius Bassus, cf. Nos. 565–568.

582

In aedibus custodis Cancellariae.

CIL VI 705; MMM II No. 109.

Soli s(acrum) / ara[m] L. Sped[i]us / Quadratus d(onum) d(edit).

583

In basi plana in qua fragmenta pedum statuae superpositae adhuc extant....

CIL VI 699; MMM II No. 111.

Domino Soli v(otum) s(olvit) Claud(ius) / Amerimnus lictor curiatus.

MONUMENTS, PROBABLY FOUND AT ROME, BUT NOT PRESERVED
THERE

ROMA

584

White marble statue (H. 1.10 Br. 1.13). Venice, in the Archaeological Museum of the former Royal Palace, Inv. No. 193. Second half of the second century A.D.

In 1588 it was walled in the Palazzo S. Marco at Rome, but was bequeathed in 1793 by the Ambassador Girolamo Zulian to the Republic of Venice.

Hammer, *Mémoire*, Pl. XXIV; Valentinelli, *Mus. Ven.*, Pl. XXVI; Dütschke, V, No. 213; MMM II 223 No. 56 and fig. 52; RRS II, 476, 1; Anti, *Museo Venezia*, 159 No. 6. Fig. 161 by courtesy of the Museum Direction.

Mithras, slaying the bull. The dog and the serpent lick the blood; the scorpion on the usual place. The bull's tail ends in three ears. Traces of red painting on the tunic.

Restorations at the arms, r. foot and cloak of Mithras; at the bull's muzzle, horns, tail and l. foreleg; at the serpent's tail and at the l. part of the base.

585

Marble relief (H. 0.56 Br. 0.37 D. 0.10), bought in Rome by Cumont from a dealer, who claimed to have found it "dans une vigne entre la Porta Portese et l'église Saint Pancrace". Musée Cinquantenaire (Jubelpark Museum), No. 59 (A 9096).

MMM II 480 No. 27*bis* and fig. 414; Cumont, *Cat. Cinq.*, 76 No. 59 and fig.

See fig. 162, kindly procured by the Direction of the Museum.

Only the upper part of the relief has been preserved. Mithras, slaying the bull. The god wears the dagger's sheath on his back; he looks at the raven, which is perched on his flying cloak. The dog's head and the ears from the bull's tail are still visible. Cautes (r) and Cautopates (l); the latter supports with his l.h. his chin. In the upper corners the busts of Sol in radiate crown (l) and of Luna (r) with crescent behind her shoulders. Traces of red painting. A hole in the back of the relief points to a fastening in a wall. The upper rim shows a rocky working.

586

White marble relief (H. 1.63 Br. 1.87 D. 0.23–0.35). At first in Rome, Villa Borghese; nowadays Paris, Louvre, Inv. No. 1024. Probably third century A.D.

Montelatici, *Villa Borghese*, 165; 181; Zoega, *Abh.*, 148 No. 4; Clarac, *Mus. Sculpt.*, II 307 No. 58 and Pl. 204 No. 58; de Hammer, *Mithriaca*, Pl. XXII; Lajard, *Intr.*, Pl. LXXVI, 2; Froehner, *Not. Sculpt.*, 502 No. 570; MMM II 223ff No. 57 and fig. 53; 481 No. 57a; Cecchelli in *Roma* 1941, Taf. XXII.

In a rocky cave Mithras as a bullkiller. The god's face has an expression of effort or grief. The dog and the serpent are present; the torchbearers and the scorpion are lacking. Three holes in the cave above Mithras' cloak may have served for fastening the raven. In the upper corners Sol's head (l) and Luna's head in crescent.

Restorations: Mithras' r. arm, l.h., wrist, neck and part of his cloak; the bull's head and part of its r. horn; the dog except the forelegs; the serpent's head; the heads of Sol and Luna; parts of the cave.

587

White marble statue (H. 1.25 Br. 1.33). At first in Rome, Villa Borghese, afterwards in the gardens of Fontainebleau, nowadays Paris, Louvre (*cf.* Inv.manuscript Louvre, No. 991).

Turre, *Mon. Vet. Ant.*, 159; Clarac, *Mus. Sculpt.*, IV, 27 and Pl. 558B No. 1194; Zoega, *Abh.*, 148 No. 3; MMM II 482 No. 58bis and fig. 415; RRS I, 295, 5. See fig. 163.

Mithras, slaying the bull. The dog licks the blood from the wound; the serpent creeps over the ground; the scorpion at the testicles; the raven got lost together with the flying cloak. The back of the statue is roughly worked.

Restorations: Mithras' head and neck, r. arm, l. shoulder and fingers of the l.h.; the bull's muzzle, r. horn (l. horn is lacking), l. foreleg and tail; the foremost part of the base with the dog's body (now lost).

588

White marble relief (H. 0.67 Br. 0.97 D. 0.11), broken in two pieces. At first in Rome, Villa Borghese, nowadays Paris, Louvre, Inv. No. 1025. Second century.

Jahn, *Codex Pighianus*, 190 No. 73; according to him the drawing of Pighius at Berlin (*ms. lat.* A 61 f. 27) probably represents the same No.; Bouillon, III, *Basreliefs*, Pl. 15; Montelatici, *Villa Borgh.*, 162; Clarac, *Mus. Sculpt.*, II No. 59 and Pl. 203 No. 59; Zoega, *Abh.*, 148 No. 11; de Hammer, *Mithriaca*, 97 No. XXV and Pl. XXIII; Lajard, *Intr.*, Pl. LXXVI, 1; Froehner, *Not. Sculpt.*, 502 No. 571; MMM II 225 No. 58 and fig. 54. See fig. 164. We express our gratitude to the Direction of the Louvre for the courtesy in supplying the photographs and informations.

Mithras, slaying the bull, whose tail ends in one ear. The dog, the serpent and the scorpion on the usual places; the raven on Mithras' flying cloak. Cautes (l) and Cautopates (r), cross-legged. Cautes' r.h. got lost. In the upper corners the busts of Sol (l) in radiate crown and of Luna (r) with crescent behind her shoulders. Both are looking at Mithras.

589

Small bronze figure (H. 0.11), which served as a handle of a *patera* (Zoega) or a knife (Lajard). For a long time at an antiquarian's in Rome, later bought by Comte Pourtalès-Géorgier (1845).

Zoega, *Abh.*, 206 No. 10; *Catalogue des objets d'art de feu M. le Comte Pourtalès-Géorgier, dont la vente aura lieu le lundi 6 février 1865*, Paris 1864, 124 No. 641; Lajard, *Rech.*, 585; MMM II 236f No. 75.

A figure with a lion's head and four large wings. The lower part of his body consists, from the stomach downwards, of a square bar. A scaled serpent winds itself in three coils round the handle and Aion's body and rests its crested head on the god's. The latter presses his hands tightly against his breast and holds in his r.h. a torch and in his l.h. a key. According to Lajard however, this torch should be a knife and in the god's mouth there should be a thunderbolt.

590

Marble statue, in 1662 "at a sculptor's behind the Capitol" (*ms.* Gudius), afterwards in the Villa Giustiniani. Acquired by E. Hill, professor in the Faculty of Medicine at Dublin (1781–1830) and bequeathed by him to the Library of the Trinity College at Dublin.

Galleria Giustiniani, II, Pl. 62; Montfaucon, *Ant. Expl.*, II (a) 383 and fig. 218, 1; Dom Martin, *Religion des Gaulois*, I, 429; Seel, *Mithrasgeh.*, 272f and Taf. XII, a; Zoega, *Abh.*, 148 No. 5; Müller, *Mithras*, fig. 10; de Hammer, *Mithriaca*, 102 No. 51; Lajard, *Intr.*, Pl. CIII; *Basrelief Borghèse*, 216; Maionica, *Felsengeburt*, 38 No. II; MMM II 231 No. 69 and fig. 62; Autran, *Mithra*, 113 (fig.); Saxl, 96 and fig. 201; Vermaseren in *AntC* XX, 1951, 346ff and Pl. II. See figs. 165–166.

The naked torso of Mithras emerging from a rock. The long, wavy hair is partly covered by the Phrygian cap. In his raised r.h. he holds a bunch of grapes and a part of cloth (see note). He leans his l.h. on the rock, on which a dagger-sheath, an arrow, a bow and the dagger. On either side stands a torchbearer in Eastern attire; cross-legged. Cautopates (r) pointing his torch downwards with his l.h., pressing his r.h. against his face. Cautes (l) raises his torch with both hands. The two torchbearers look towards the bunch of grapes. On the front of the rock an inscription.

The foremost part of Mithras' upraised r.arm with the bunch of grapes seems to be lost now. Probably it is a false restoration instead of an original hand with torch. Fig. 164 however, shows a plaster cast with the bunch. Professor H. W. Parke informed me, that he noted on examining the figure a circular depression some four inches below the neck at the back. It looks like some earlier point of attachment or support. But, so he writes, I cannot be certain.

591

CIL VI 731; MMM II No. 63.

Nama / L(ucius) Fl(avius) Hermadion / hoc mihi libens / d(onum) d(edit).

The word of *Nama* inside a crown with two ribbons.

"In inscriptione loquitur numen" (CIL; cf. *AntC* 1951, 347 n. 3).

592

White marble statue (H. 1.27 Br. 1.50). From Rome transported to London by C. Standish in 1815; from 1826 in the British Museum, Inv. No. 1720. Probably second century.

Ellis, *Townley Gall.*, I, 282; Clarac, *Mus. Sculpt.*, IV, 25 and Pl. 559; MMM II 227 No. 64 and fig. 60; Smith, *Cat. Br. Mus.*, 86f No. 1720 and fig. 10; Loeschcke in *Tr. H.*, 313 fig. 2; RRS I, 296, 2; Saxl, fig. 133. See fig. 167.

Mithras, slaying the bull. The dog and the serpent lick the blood from the wound; the scorpion at the testicles.

Restored: Mithras' head, l. arm, r. arm (foremost part) and greater part of the dagger, part of the attire; the bull's muzzle, ears and horns; the hind-quarter of the dog except the legs.

Smith observes that the statue corresponds accurately to a sketch by van Heemskerck, if one thinks away the restorations. But the band on the bull contradicts this opinion, because this band does not occur on the statue itself.

593

Statue of coarse grained marble (H. 0.78 Br. 1.07). At first in Rome, afterwards in the Townley Collection, nowadays British Museum.

Notes of Bianchini, which he made between 1702–1709; Clarac, *Mus. Sculpt.*, IV, 25 and Pl. 558A, 1191A; Ellis, *Townley Gall.*, I, 284; Smith, *Cat. Br. Mus.*, 87f No. 1721 and fig. 11; MMM II 228 No. 65 and fig. 99; Hinks in Bruton, *Fort Manch.*, Pl. 19; RRS I, 295, 2. See fig. 168.

Mithras, slaying the bull. Three ears come out from the wound, the dog and the serpent direct their heads towards them. Behind the bull, on the ground traces of the legs of a bird (probably the raven). The two torchbearers are standing behind the bull; their heads have got lost. Cautopates points his torch downwards with both hands; Cautes holds his r.h. against the bull's tail, holding a torch with his upraised l.h.

Restorations: upper part of Mithras' body from the belt, except the r.arm and the front part of the l. arm. Horns, ears and the front piece of the bull's muzzle.

On the base and on the back of the bull's body an inscription.

Together with Prof. Bernard Ashmole I studied this monument attentively. It appears, that both torchbearers are genuine, perhaps except the l.h. of Cautes. But his r.h. and the feet of both torchbearers guarantee the exceptional position.

594

CIL VI 718; MMM II No. 69; CIL VI 30818.

Alcimus T. Cl(audi) Liviani ser(vus) vilic(us) S(oli) M(ithrae) v(otum) s(olvit) d(onum) d(edit).

According to Huelsen in *BPhW* 1889, 683, T. Claudius Livianus should have been a Prefect of the Praetorian Guard during the reign of Trajanus (*cf.* *MMM* II 468 No. 69). The monument is the earliest known from Rome.

595

Bronze statuette (H. 0.12). The exact find-spot is unknown, but the catalogue of the British Museum (Inv. No. 1017) mentions "Castellani 1873" which might imply a Roman origin. Another note in manuscript however, says "probably not Castellani"!

Walters, *Cat. Bronzes*, 184 No. 1017; *MM*, 230. See fig. 169, by courtesy of the Br. Museum Direction.

A group of Mithras, slaying the bull. His hands and a part of the flying cloak have got lost as well as the bull. The god is in Eastern attire.

596

Marble statue (H. 0.85). Bought at Rome, where it might have been found. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen, Inv. No. 716.

Ny Carlsberg Glyptoteks ant. kunstw., Pl. XXVI No. 389; Poulsen, *Kat. Ny Carlsb. Glypt.*, 258 No. 389. See fig. 170, kindly procured by the Keeper of the Museum.

On a base Mithras as a bullkiller in Eastern attire. The god is looking upwards. The dog and the serpent near the wound; the scorpion on the usual place. Some small restorations: Mithras' nose, a part of his attire and hair, fingers of the l.h. and toes of the r. foot; the bull's r. ear and horns, part of the r. hind-leg.

597

Fragment of a greyish marble relief (H. 0.765 Br. 0.25–0.37 D. 0.085). At first in the Jericho's workshop near the Piazza del Popolo at Rome; since 1884 in the Nationalmuseet at Copenhagen, Inv. No. 2229.

Matz-v. Duhn III, 142 No. 3758; Davidson in *AAR* II, 1881, 12 No. 4 and fig.; *JHS* 1888, 32f; *MMM* II 229 No. 66. See fig. 171, procured by H. Möller.

Mithras as a bullkiller. Of the bull only a hoof of a hind-leg; of the god a foot and a part of his flying cloak have been preserved. On the rocky border the tail of the raven. Behind the bull, Cautes with upraised torch in Eastern attire and cross-legged. In the l. upper corner the head of Sol in aureol and crown of seven rays.

598

White marble relief (H. 0.70). Bought by Gerhard in Rome for the Altes Museum in Berlin (1834). During my visit at Berlin, I was not able to study the Berlin monuments personally.

Lajard, *Intr.*, Pl. XCIX; *Mémoire Vénus*, 231; *Verzeichniss Ant. Skulpt.*, No. 707; *MMM* II 225f No. 60 and fig. 56; *Beschr. Ant. Skulpt.*, 54 No. 707; Saxl, fig. 147. See fig. 172.

In a cave, Mithras as a bullkiller in the usual attitude and attire. The god is looking at the raven, which is perched on the rocky border. The jumping dog with collar; the creeping serpent; the scorpion.

On the foreground a dressed, reclining woman (Tellus), leaning on her l. arm and resting on her knee a basket with fruits.

In the upper corners the dressed busts of Sol (l) in radiate crown and of Luna in crescent.

599

White marble statue (H. 0.29), bought by Gerhard in Rome. Before World-War II in the Altes Museum at Berlin.

Creuzer, *Deutsche Schriften*, II (2), 292 n. 1; Boetticher, *Nachtrag zu Verz. der Bildw.*, No. 891; Maionica, *Felsengeburt*, 40 No. VII; *Verz. Ant. Skulpt.*, No. 227; MMM II 227 No. 62 and fig. 58.

The naked Mithras, being born from the rock with upraised arms. He is visible as far as his hips and he wears a Phrygian cap on his curly hair. The two arms have been restored in a few places. Originally he may have carried a torch and dagger.

600

White marble statue (H. 0.61). From the Coll. Baireuth to the Altes Museum at Berlin.

Verz. der ant. Skulpt., No. 202; MMM II 227 No. 63.

Cautopates in Eastern attire; cross-legged. With both hands he points his torch downwards. Restored: head, front part of the l. arm and a part of the torch.

601

Marble statue (H. 0.27). Altes Museum, Berlin.

Verz. ant. Skulpt., No. 216; *Mus. Berlin*, No. 216; MMM II No. 61 and fig. 57; RRS II, 477, 4.

Mithras as a bullkiller. The dog and the serpent direct their heads to the wound; the scorpion at the testicles.

Mithras' head, the front part of the arms and his cloak have got lost as well as the bull's muzzle.

602

Fragment of red ware. From Rome to the Akad. Kunst Museum, Bonn, Inv. No. 671.

Loeschcke in *Tr. H.*, 328 and fig. 17.

On the upper part of the dish, Mithras as a bullkiller. The god with a flying cloak is sitting astride on the bull.

603

A relief, formerly "in domo Andreae Cinquinae". Now Leningrad(?).

Gruterus, *Inscr.*, XXXIV, 4; Ms. Lupus, *Vaticanus*, 7143 f. 841; Zoega, *Abh.*, 150 No. 29; Guedionov, *Ermitage Impérial, Musée de sculpture*, 1865², 21 No. 94; MMM II 228f No. 65bis. Our description from CIL VI 735.

"Mithra est fusa chlamyde, succinctus veste breviori, braccatus et manicatus, curva tiara, respiciens corvum. Taurum figit cultro parazonio extremum pedem ei suo premens; altera nares tenet; adsilit ad vulnus canis et serpens toto bovis spatio porrectus. Testes bovis chelis suis apprehendit scorpius, cauda bovis in quatuor aristas desinens subrecta est. Subest inscriptio." No. 604.

604

CIL VI 735; MMM II No. 33.

D(onum) deo invicto d(ederunt) / Marci Matti / Fortuna/tus / et Alexander / et Pardus / et Eficax / per Fl(avio) Alexandro patre.

As Lupus' manuscript states, that in the beginning of the 18th century it was kept "Romae in Museo Rolando", Cumont presumed (MMM II 483 No. 65bis), that this relief is the same as a work, which has got lost hitherto and of which we reproduce a drawing according to Causius, who adds "apud P. A. Rolandum" (cf. M.A. Causeus, *Romanum Museum*, II, Pl. 23; Montfaucon, *Ant. Expl.*, I (2), 579 and Pl. 216, 1, who states wrongly, that he has copied his reproduction from del Torre; J. G. Graevius, *Thesaurus Antiquitatum Romanarum*, V, 1696, 777, Tab. XVI; Eichhorn, *de deo Sole*, Tab. I; Creuzer, *Symb.*, Pl. 3; Welcker in Zoega, *Abh.*, 396; Müller, *Mithras*, fig. 8; MMM II 233 No. 71 with fig. 63).

If indeed we compare the description of the Corpus with the Causeus reproduction, the similarity is striking. The bull's tail however, ends in three ears, but a drawing may easily lead to a mistake. For one of the ears is bigger and fuller than the other two. As to the inscription, Causeus may simply have omitted it.

605

White marble statue (H. 0.60 Br. 0.58). According to informations, given to me by Franz Cumont, it should have been found in Rome in 1919. At first at the antiquary's Jandolo near the Forum; till 1925 in the Coll. of A. Marquand. This probably was the reason, why Espérandieu thought, that it originally came from the surroundings of Vienna (Isère). Nowadays in the Museum of Historic Art, Princeton University, N.Y., Acc. No. 342.

Elderkin in *ArtA* XX, 1925, 118 and fig.; Esp., *Rec. Gaule*, X, 133f No. 7457 with fig. The fig. 173 with kind permission of the Museum of Princeton.

Mithras in the usual attitude and attire, slaying the bull, whose curved tail ends in three ears. The dog and the serpent lick the blood; the scorpion at the testicles.

606

White marble relief (H. 0.90 Br. about 1.20). Janes Buildings, Toronto.

MMM II 483 No. 67bis and fig. 418; from a report in *AJA* we understand, that on Dec. 29, 1926 N. W. de Witt lectured on "A Mithrasrelief at Toronto".

This lecture seems to have been published, but we have not yet succeeded in consulting it. *Cf.* No. 616.

In a cave Mithras, slaying the bull. With his l.h. he seems to grasp one of its horns. Dog, serpent and scorpion. The raven on the rocky border. On either side a torchbearer, cross-legged. Both raise their torches (probably a modern restoration). In the upper corners the dressed busts of Sol in radiate crown (l) and of Luna with a cloth on her hair, on which a crescent is visible.

607

White marble relief, the top and r. sides broken off (H. 0.65 Br. 0.84). Anonymously presented to the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Inv. No. 92.2692.

Trust. MFA, 17th Annual Report, 1893, 16f No. 1; *MMM* II 229f No. 67; *GBA* VII, 1912, 70; Reinach in *CAA* VII, 1912, 70; *RRR* II, 200, 4; Caskey, *Cat. Boston*, 185f No. 106; Saxl, fig. 35. Fig. 174 by courtesy of the Keeper of the Museum.

Mithras in Eastern attire and elegant foot-wear, sits astride on the bull, grasping its lower jaw with one hand and thrusting the dagger into its body with the other. Mithras' head got lost. The serpent creeps over the ground; the scorpion is not represented; the raven is not visible. Of the dog the collar only has been preserved. No traces of painting.

MONUMENTS PROBABLY FOUND IN ROME, BUT OF WHICH THE
PRESENT OWNERS ARE UNKNOWN

ROMA

608

A relief, formerly "in aedibus Alteriorum ad S. Marcum".

Gruterus, *Inscr.* I, XXXIV, 8; Zoega, *Abh.*, 150 No. 28; MMM II 235 No. 72;

Huelsen in *Ausonia* VII, 1912, 24, who points at a drawing of Dosio, fol. 150b. (Bibliotheca Marucelliana).

"Mithra est in rupe sed extantiori opere (*cf.* Mon. No. 334) taurum cui utroque genu innititur quemque cornibus tenet, cultro in scapula sinistra figens. Scorpius testiculos tauri apprehendit, animal cani non absimile adsilit, serpens subiacet, tauri cauda in aristas desinit. Ad humeros ipsius dei corvus in rupe assidet. A dextra Sol iuvenili facie, et sub eo puer braccatus mitratusque facem erigit. A sinistra Luna additis supra frontem cornibus, sub qua item puer alteri similis facem demissam tenet."

609

Marble base "von zwei Palmen ins Gevierte, wenig mehr als einen halben Palme dick". At first in the Villa Negroni, afterwards in Museo Borgia at Velletri. This collection is spread over Musea at Naples and Rome, where I did not find it again.

Zoega, *Abh.*, 148 No. 5b and 207ff; MMM II 222 No. 55 whose description we repeat here.

"La face supérieure de ce piédestal et le côté qui touchait au mur du sanctuaire sont lisses, les trois autres ornés d'un bas-relief de style médiocre et d'un très mauvais travail:

a) Sur celui du milieu est représenté Sol nu avec une chlamyde flottante sur un quadrigé entraîné vers la gauche par des chevaux bondissants. La tête est perdue ainsi que la poitrine et les mains. Devant les chevaux est un petit autel flamboyant entre deux hommes qui paraissent vêtus à l'orientale (*mithrisch*), mais dont toute la partie supérieure jusqu'à l'abdomen est perdue. Derrière le char est un homme nu, de face, avec une épée en main, et sur le sol derrière ses pieds se tient un porc (torchbearer with a bull? Cumont). Les autres côtés présentent chacun deux groupes:

b) Sur le côté de droite l'un de ces groupes se composent d'un homme nu

accroupi avec le genou droit en terre, tourné vers la droite, posant la main gauche sur la hanche et étendant la droite vers un autre personnage imberbe, vêtu à l'orientale, debout en face de lui, qui tient dans la main droite une épée et qui de la gauche avance au-dessus de la main étendue du personnage agenouillé, une torche avec une énorme flamme vers son visage (Mithras and Sol?).

c) A gauche est un homme nu, étendu horizontalement, le visage et le ventre détourné, les bras et les jambes étendues. La grossièreté du travail ne permet pas de décider s'il est étendu à terre ou plane en l'air. Autour de son corps on remarque sept petits bourrelets qui expriment probablement les liens, qui maintiennent les membres du patient, l'un près de la tête, deux autres au bout des mains, deux au côté, deux à la pointe des pieds. Près de sa tête se tient également un jeune oriental imberbe, tourné vers le patient, avec un long bâton dans la main droite, dans la gauche quelque chose comme une coupe (Mithraic repast?).

d) Sur le troisième côté se trouve, près de l'angle qu'il forme avec celui du milieu, un groupe dont toute la partie supérieure fait défaut, et dont le reste permet de supposer que c'était une répétition du premier groupe du côté opposé.

e) Derrière ces deux figures, on voit un personnage en costume orientale, tourné à gauche vers un jeune homme nu, debout entre deux roseaux. Celui-ci, les genoux pliés sans force, en sens opposé, les mains appliquées sur les cuisses, porte au-dessus de sa tête un objet qui est un peu plus grand que la tête elle-même, grossièrement fait, peut-être une couronne, peut-être une triple flamme, et qui ressemble à un croissant avec une flamme qui s'élèverait au milieu. L'oriental nommé plus haut, tient dans sa main gauche abaissée un long bâton, et de la main droite approche de l'épaule droite du jeune homme nu une coupe, comme pour y verser un liquide.

610

Ph. a Turre, *Mon. Vet. Antii*, 159 mentions another Mithras-relief from the Villa Borghese, which seems lost.

611

Statue, formerly "in aedibus Jo. Antonii di Ponione" (Porsione?).

Ms Vaticanus, 3439 f. 145 (drawings collected by Fulvius Ursinus 1529–1600);

MMM II 484 No. 77bis.

Standing figure with *kalathos* on lion's head and two large wings attached to his shoulders. His body is entwined by three coils of the serpent, which directs its head towards an eye on the god's breast. There are also eyes on each cheek and one on the forehead. Around his waist a belt on which a lion to the right. On the l. thigh a scorpion and a knife, on the other thigh a child, holding a pair of scales.

The god holds in his l.h. a sceptre; in his hanging r.h. a *patera*.

It is not all together impossible, that the drawing should be mere fantasy (*cf.* Matz in *Nachr. Ges. Wiss. Göttingen*, 1872, 55) or a forged restoration of No. 545. (Cumont), but this is not quite certain.

The god with *kalathos* we also find on a relief from Dura-Europos (see No. 40); and one eye on the breast we find again on the interesting statue from Castel Gandolfo (No. 326).

612

Statue in stone (H. 0.95). Found probably at Rome. According to an information of Paul Hartwig to Franz Cumont, it should have been at an antiquary's Martignetti in Rome in 1901.

Vermaseren in *AntC* XX, 1951, 345f and Pl. I, 2.

Naked Mithras emerges from the rock. He puts the index of his l.h. to his lips. The r. arm is broken off. "Ce n'est qu'une ébauche, la sculpture n'a jamais été achevée" (Cumont).

613

In 1946 Franz Cumont gave me the following information: "Voici deux monuments qui ont passé dans le commerce et dont le possesseur actuel est inconnu:

Froehner, *Collection Hoffmann Antiquités* No. 624 et Pl. XLIII.

Mithra tauroctone avec le chien, le serpent et le scorpion. Le taureau se fouette re flanc de sa queue. Les pupilles de dieu sont formées d'un émail blanc. Fortement restauré (H. 0.84 L. 0.97).

614

Groupe de marbre blanc trouvé à Rome vers la fin de 1919. Se trouvait chez l'antiquaire Jandolo, à côté du Forum (H. 0.65 L. 0.60). Ronde bosse. Mithra tauroctone avec le chien, le serpent et le scorpion. La queue repliée du taureau se termine par trois épis." I suppose it is statue No. 605.

615

Low-relief in stone (H. 0.67 Br. 1.10). According to data, given by Paul Hartwig to Franz Cumont in 1901, it was found by a farmer near Rome together with numerous other ancient fragments. Bought in 1905 by the antiquary Triantaphyllos at Paris; at first at Innocenti's, Via del Babuino, Rome.

Vermaseren in *AntC* XX, 1951, 343ff and Pl. I, 1. See fig. 175 procured by Franz Cumont.

Mithras, slaying the bull, whose tail ends in three ears. The god is in Eastern attire and has a sheath at his side. The dog and the serpent with their heads near the abundantly flowing blood. The scorpion on the usual place. On either side a torchbearer, not cross-legged.

Lost: the upper part with head, l.h., r. arm with dagger, a piece of the flying cloak of Mithras; the raven; the busts of Sol and Luna; the r. arm and l.h. of Cautopates (l); the head and the l. arm of Cautes (r).

616

Fragment of a white marble relief (H. about 0.60 Br. about 0.67). According to Boissard it was in the 17th cent. "in aedibus Caesianis prope Vaticanum"; afterwards in the Library of the Villa Ludovisi (Zoega) and in the storehouse of the same Villa.

Boissard, *Topogr.*, II, 192; Marliani, *Topographia*, 152; Ferruci, *App. Pal.*, 341; Zoega, *Abh.*, 149 No. 23b; Hammer, *Mithriaca*, 98; Schreiber, *Ludovisi*, 264 No. 339; MMM II 216 No. 41.

Mithras, slaying the bull. The dog and the serpent are present; the raven on the god's flying cloak. On a base a little torchbearer with upraised torch is standing cross-legged. The upper part of his body and his feet have got lost. The other torchbearer (r), whose lower part of the body and arms are lacking, holds the torch upraised as well.

The relief is lost; therefore it is not quite certain, if this is the work, purchased by Janes in Rome in 1893 (see No. 606). The attitude of the torchbearers, raising their torches, tells in favour of this hypothesis; the size however, tells against it (*cf.* MMM I 364 No. 67bis).

Marliani mentions still another relief "affixum muris aedium Sancti Marci sub turri in ipsa platea" (MMM II 481 No. 41).

617

Relief (H. 0.73 Br. 0.96) of bluish marble. Once in the Villa Ludovisi.

Zoega, *Abh.*, 149 No. 23; Platner, *Beschr. Roms*, II (2), 589; Hammer, *Mithriaca*, 98; Schreiber, *Ludovisi*, 177f No. 166; MMM II 216f No. 42.

Mithras as a bullkiller. At his r. side the sheath of his dagger. The bull's tail ends in ears. The dog, serpent and scorpion on the usual places. The raven is perched on Mithras' cloak and holds a "heart-shaped" fruit in its beak (Schreiber). In the upper corners the dressed busts of Sol (l) in radiate crown and of Luna (r) in crescent.

618

Two statues, which were formerly in the Villa del Grande near the Porta Maggiore.

Matz-v. Duhn I, No. 1574; MMM II 235 No. 73.

Mithras, slaying the bull. In both groups the upper part of the god's body and the bull's head are lacking.

619

Statue, once in the Collection Santa Croce near the Piazza Giudea.

Michaelis in *JdI* 1891, 143; MMM II 237 No. 76.

Mithras as a bullkiller. Around the bull's body, of which only the upper part has been preserved, a broad belt. Mithras' l. arm and his r. arm as far as the elbow have got lost; the bull's horns and the front part of the muzzle are broken off.

620

Small group; once at the sculptor Antonio d'Este.

Zoega, *Abh.*, 148 No. 6; 164; MMM II 237 No. 77.

Mithras as a bullkiller with the two torchbearers. The whole is made from one single piece.

621

About the next two monuments, no further data are known (*cf.* MMM II 485 No. 78c, *bis*):

1) In Palazzo Barberini (Zoega, *Abh.*, 148 No. 8). In a catalogue of art objects of Cardinal Barberini, made up in 1738, the group is described as follows (*cf.* *Documenti inediti per servire alla storia dei musei d'Italia*, IV, 43 *Intr.*, 8): "Prima camera del braccio del detto appartamento terreno: un gruppo d'una figurina et un toro colco, e la figura con paneggiamento e pileo frigeo sul capo, colla manca tiene per le frocie il toro, e colla destra il coltello in atto d'ucciderlo con scorpione, serpe e cane; stimato scudi dodici". Thus, it was purchased and it is not allowed to suppose, that it should have been found in the terrain of the Palazzo, where recently a Mithraeum was discovered (Nos 389–395).

2) Ph. a Turre, *Mon. Vet. Antii*, 159 mentions a "tabula Mithrae..... in palatio ducis Sanesii".

ROME OUTSIDE THE WALLS AND HER NEXT SURROUNDINGS

ROMA

622

In plintho marmoreo olim in vinea Guidii, qui unde acceperit non constat.

CIL VI 3727; 31045; MMM II No. 36.

L. Valerius Megi[stus?] / p(ater) et sac(erdos) invicto Mithr[ae].

623

In vinea Nari 1734.

CIL VI 2277; MMM II No. 40.

D(is) M(anibus) / Equitio Ares/con[t]i patri sa/crorum Iunia / Thallusa sibi et
coniugi pi/entissimo fecit / b(ene)m(erenti).

624

Cippus marmoreus. Torre Pignatara vigna Dionigi.

CIL VI 2278; MMM II No. 41.

Dis Manibus / Sex(ti)nei Restituti. / Indulgentissimo / patri sacrorum / fili et
mater / benemerenti / posuerunt.

Left of the last line a crown.

625

Tabula marmorea.

CIL VI 743; MMM II No. 42.

Val(erius) Marinus pater signu[m] / invicti Mitrhe (*sic*) ex voto pos/uit/.

626

Tabula marmorea reperta in vinea Curtii Palloni extra portam S. Agnetis prope
castra praetoria.

CIL VI 738; MMM II No. 37.

Pro salute et reditu imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) L. Septim[i] Severi pii pertinacis
Aug(usti) et] / imp(eratoris) Caesaris M. Aureli Antonini Aug(usti) pii [felicis et
Iuliae Aug(ustae) totiusque domus] / divinae item cohortium pr[aetoriarum
p(iarum) v(indicum)] / deum [invictum Solem] / procurantibus Hermete et
Euphrata Aug(ustorum) lib(ertis) / Q. Pompeius Primigenius pater
et sacerdos huius loci cum [sacratissimis] / feci[t] item sacrarium suis sumptibus

cum deo a solo exornatum[. pro] / victoriis Aug(ustorum) n(ostorum). Inchoatum agente Nicephoro Aug(ustorum) lib(erto) adiut(ore) proc(uratorum)
199–209 A.D.

627

Marble slab, used as a tombstone in Comodilla's catacombs: "in vigna G. Serafini sulla via delle Sette Chiese (presso la via Ostiense poco lunge dalla Basilica di S. Paolo".

Marucci in *NSc* (S. 5) II, 1905, 118.

[Devotus] n(umini) m(aiestati)q(ue) [eius] / T(itus) Flavius Eutychus / invicto sancto d(onum) d(edit).

628

In 1946 Franz Cumont wrote me: "D'après une notice que m'a communiqué Richard Wünsch en 1910, le Lyceum Hosianum de Braunsberg en Prusse orientale possède (ou possédait car il n'existe peut-être plus) un basrelief de Mithra, acquis près de Rome".

Perhaps it is the relief from Macerata (see No. 690).

629

White marble statue (H. 0.43 Br. 0.29), found in 1925 "sulla via Aurelia intorno al milliario undecimo nella tenuta denominata il Bottacio" (Lorium). Palazzo Doria.

Atti dell' Acad. Rom. di Arch., III, 663; Matz-v. Duhn I, 449 No. 1573; *MMM* II 208f No. 26.

Mithras as killer of the bull, around whose body is a broad belt. The dog, the serpent and the scorpion. The raven and a part of the flying cloak are lost. Cautes (l) and Cautopates (r). The hands and the torch of Cautes have been restored.

630

Nella vigna del Marchese Patritii fuor di porta Pia.

CIL VI 761; *MMM* II No. 49.

Soli in[v(icto)] / Mithr[ae] / Ael(ius) Victorinu(s) [vet(eranus)] / A[ug(ustorum)] n(ostorum) ex b[ene(ficiario)] a[b imp(eratore) n(ostro) / mis(sus)] hon(esta) [mi]ss[i]one / d(onum) d(edit) dedic(avit) . . . k(al.) s[ept(embres)] / imp(eratore) Antonino Aug(usto) [II Geta Caes(are)] / co(n)s(ulibus) antiste(sic!) M. Aur(elio) Aug(usti) li[b(erto)] / Romulo h(uius) [l(oci)] sac(erdote).

"Titulus aetatis Elagabali esse credit Marini; mihi videtur alius annus convenire non posse quam quem restitui vel a. 208 quo Caracallus III et Geta II consules fuerunt" (Henzen).

631

Ara marmorea reperta a. 1873 inter Thermas Diocletiani et viam di Porta Pia nunc de Venti Settembre.

S(oli) / invicto / Mithrae / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito) / S(extus) C.....
 I... / antistite / T. Fl(avio) Ianuario.
Cf. CIL VI 719; 30819.

632

Cippus in vinea quadam via Salaria e regione coemeterii Priscillae.
 CIL VI 31042; MMM II No. 46a.
 Q. Hostilius Euphrastus leo / l(ibens) d(onum) d(edit).

633

Fragmentum marmoreum repertum in coemeterio ad duos Lauros via Labicana.
 CIL VI 3881; MMM II No. 77.
 ...con... / s(acerdos) d(ei) S(olis) invi[cti Mithrae?] / ann(os) XL vi[xit] / ...ag.
 II....

634

Not far from the Villa dei Quintili, between the Via Appia Antica and Nuova, a sanctuary of Zeus Brontoon was discovered in 1929. In it several deities as Hercules, Jupiter with the thunderbolt, Cybele, Astarte, Isis as well as Mithras were adored, as appears from the monuments Nos. 635–639.

635

Fragment of a marble relief (H. 0.27 Br. 0.38 D. 0.045). Mus. Nazionale Terme, Inv. No. 121020.

Annibaldi in *NSc* (S. 6) XI, 1935, 91 No. 19. See figs. 176a, b.

On the obverse only one corner is preserved. Sol with two rays and the raven on the cave's edge. On part of the arched rim, the following signs of the Zodiac are visible: Aries-Taurus-Gemini-Cancer-Leo-Libra-Scorpio.

Of the scene of Mithras, slaying the bull, only the point of the god's Phrygian cap is preserved; a part of Cautus' upraised torch and a part of his cap to the l. of the scene.

On the reverse two branches, the left of which is nearly completely lost. Below them two rays beside the upper part of a Phrygian cap (Sol and Mithras). Next to it the upper part of a standing person in Eastern attire (Mithraic repast).

Another fragment (H. 0.19 Br. 0.17 D. 0.04 (Inv. No. 121021) shows on the obverse Mithras' wrist and hand with dagger, his knee and part of his tunic; one ear and the horns of the bull. On the reverse a part of a tunic.

636

Marble relief (H. 0.51 Br. 0.07 D. 0.05). Mus. Naz. Terme, Inv. No. 121019.

Annibaldi, *l.c.* 90 No. 18. See fig. 177.

Standing torchbearer in a short tunic and in a Phrygian cap; cross-legged; torch upraised. L.h. lost (Cautus).

637

Marble relief (H. 0.43 Br. 0.18 D. 0.05). Inv. No. 121019.

Annibaldi, *l.c.*, 90 No. 17. See fig. 178 (*Sansaini*).

Standing torchbearer in Eastern attire, pointing downwards his burning torch; cross-legged. The head and the greater part of the torch have got lost.

On the back of both monuments, the cloak is indicated sketchily.

638

It is not excluded, that a torso of a man (H. 0.24) of marble from Luna represents a torchbearer. He is dressed in a tunic, long cloak and *anaxyrides*. Badly damaged.

639

Marble *cippus* (H. 0.60 Br. 0.36 D. 0.14) with inscription.

Nsc 1935, 99 No. 56.

Deo Soli envicto Mithre / Cautopati. /

Below it:

D(eo) S(oli) e(nvicto) M(ithre) / Flavius. . . . / / an. XIII. . . . / cum omne. . . . / posuerunt.

L A T I U M

AGURZANO

640

I mention a note of E. Boehringer in *AA* 44, 1929, 108:

“In Agurzano bei Ponte Mammolo an der Via Tiburtina ist eine Grabkammer aufgedeckt worden mit Stucken, die sich auf die Gründung Roms beziehen, und in einiger Entfernung davon zwischen Gräbern unmittelbar auf der Strasse ein unterirdischer Raum mit Darstellung des Mithras mit Stier, ebenfalls in Stuck, wahrscheinlich aus dem 4 Jahrhundert stammend”.

FIANO ROMANO

641

White marble relief (H. 0.62 Br. 0.67 D. 0.16) on a travertine base (H. 0.10 Br. 0.76 D. 0.50). Worked on two sides. Found at Fiano Romano “couché dans un petit réduit de briques” in 1926. Paris, Louvre. Probably second century.

Cumont in *RA* (S. 6), 1946, 183ff and figs. 1–2. See figs. 179–180, given by Franz Cumont.

O b v e r s e: Mithras, slaying the bull, whose tail ends in a bundle of ears. The dog, serpent, scorpion and raven. The upper corners are occupied by a rocky vault, from which the dressed busts of Sol (l) and Luna (r) emerge. Luna has a crescent behind her shoulders; around Sol's head a crown of twelve rays and another, which darts out in the direction of Mithras.

R e v e r s e: In the middle, a bull's hide, of which the head and one hindleg are clearly visible. Sol and Mithras lying on it side by side. Mithras in Eastern

attire, holding a long torch in his l.h. and stretching out his r.h. behind Sol. The latter is only dressed in a short cape, fastened on the r. shoulder by a *fibula*. Around Sol's head an aureole and a crown of eleven rays. He holds a whip in his l.h. and extends the other hand towards a torchbearer, who stands before him and offers him a *rhyton*.

Another torchbearer, dressed in Eastern attire like his companion, and with an upraised torch in his l.h., holds with his right a *caduceus* in the water or fire, which comes out from the ground. Beside it an altar in the coils of a crested snake.

In the left upper corner a cloud-like semicircle, in which the dressed bust of Luna with a crescent behind her shoulders. She looks away from the scene.

Traces of red painting on the attire of the torchbearers and the reclining persons.

VIA NOMENTANA

642

Fragment of a white marble relief (H. 0.40 Br. 0.36 –0.10 D. 0.037–0.06), found together with the following No. in a small hill "Carnale" situated near Nomento at a distance of about 20 K.M. from Rome. In the Magazines of the Museo Nazionale, Rome. Informations by Dr Enrico Paribeni.

The ordinary scene of Mithras as a bullkiller. Preserved: forder part of the dog; the head of the serpent; forder part of the bull with its head; the l. arm of the god with part of his breast in *tunica manicata*; his r.h. with the dagger.

The reverse of the relief is rough-hewn. Third century A.D.

643

Fragment of a white marble relief (H. 0.267 Br. 0.25 D. 0.06–0.035). The marble being of a different species, this fragment does not belong to the preceding No.

The relief is framed. Only the lower part of a torchbearer, cross-legged and in short tunic. His feet have got lost. Of the torch only a small part is visible at the left thigh.

VIA CASSIA

644

Franz Cumont drew our attention to a statue, found along the Via Cassia (Clodia) about six kilometers from Rome. According to *NSc* (S. 6) I, 393, it should represent an Aion, entwined by a serpent. The monument is in the Museo Nazionale delle Terme. I believe, it is an Atargatis.

E T R U R I A

TORRITA

645

Marble statue (H. 0.65), found at Torrita near Nazzano in the beginning of the 19th century. Formerly in Trasi's house at Torrita, now at Rome (Tomasetti) but I do not know where.

Tomasetti in *Arch. Storia Patria* VII, 1884, 420 n. 1; *Campagna Romana*, III, 328f; MMM II 260 No. 105; Taylor, *Cults Etr.*, 58.

Standing torchbearer in Phrygian cap, tunica, cloak and *anaxyrides*. In the l.h. (broken off) a torch; the r.h. is missing. On the base beside the r. foot an inscription:

646

CIL XI 3865; MMM II No. 162.

Hymnu/s inbic/to.

NERSAE

647

Inscription, found "sub Nesce, in contrada Silvestri vicino il casale Domizi".

CIL IX 4109; MMM II No. 152.

Invicto Mithrae / Apronianus arkar(ius) / rei p(ublicae) d(onum) d(edit). / Dedicatum VII kal(endas) Iul(ias) / Maximo et Orfito co(n)s(ulibus) / per C. Arennium Rea/tinum patrem.

172 A.D.

648

CIL IX 4110; MMM II No. 153.

. . spelaeu]m Solis invic[ti / Mithrae pro salut]e ordinis et pop[uli / Apronianus arka]rius rei p(ublicae) vetustate [collap]sum / [perm(issu) ordin(is) de] sua pecunia restit[uit].

This same Apronianus also occurs on monument No. 650. He is known to have dedicated a sanctuary to Isis and Serapis when a *r(ei)p(ublicae) aquilorum servus* (CIL IX 4112).

649

Besides these inscriptions Martelli (*Antichità dei Sicoli* II 1835, 162 No. 11) mentions an "Altra iscrizione scheggiata esiste in nostra casa insieme colla statua bipedale del Sole mancante di testa, braccia e piedi, ma di rara scultura antichissima".

Just as Cumont (MMM II 419 No. 297) I failed to obtain further details about this representation of Sol.

650

White marble relief (H. 0.81 Br. 1.04 D. 0.08), found at Nesce, community Pescorocchiano in the Abruzzes "nel fondo del Barone Coletti, in località S. Silvestro". At first sold to the antiquary Veneziani at Rome and later through the intercession of the Soprintendenza alle Antichità transported to the Mus. Naz. of the Thermes at Rome.

Mancini, *Abruzz.* = ACSA 1931 with fig.; Vermaseren, in *Mnemosyne* (*Studia archaeologica G. van Hoorn oblata*), 1951, 293 and Pl. XXIII, 7 (detail). See fig. 181.

In the centre Mithras slaying the bull, whose tail ends in three ears. Dog and snake near the wound, scorpion and raven on the usual places. In the upper corners the busts of Sol (l) with whip and of Luna (r) with crescent and quiver. On either side of the bull-killing Cautus (l) and Cautopates (r) in Oriental dress; cross-legged. Above them three scenes separated by horizontal rims are represented. From top to bottom left:

1) Standing person in cloak (Jupiter) behind two naked Gigants, one of whom he grasps by his hair. With the other hand he slings his lightning. Both Gigants are kneeling.

2) Reclining figure, dressed in long cloak. He supports his head with his l.h.; in the r.h. he holds the *harpe* (Saturnus). Above him a branch of a tree.

3) Naked Mithras in Phrygian cap, born from the rock. On either side a person, holding their hands against their faces.

Left:

1) Mithras riding on the bull's back, clasping its horns with his l.h.

2) On either side of a small altar the standing Mithras and the kneeling, naked Sol. Both hold a knife in their r.h.; Sol lays his l.h. on the outstretched l.h. of Mithras.

3) Mithras walks up to a kneeling figure, who is dressed in a billowing shoulder-cape only. Mithras holds an indefinable object (a club?) in his upraised r.h.

On the lower-border an inscription:

651

Apronianus rei p(ublicae) ark(arius) sua pecunia fecit.

After comparison with the inscr. No. 647, and No. 648 one can assume, that this relief originally comes from the same Mithraeum, which was in use at Nersae round 172 A.D. Apronianus was moreover an ardent worshipper of Isis and Serapis (*cf.* CIL IX 4112).

AVEIA VESTINA

652

Altar, found at Fossa.

CIL IX 3608; MMM II No. 154.

Imp(eratore) Severo Antoni/no Aug(usto) IIII co(n)sule T. Fl(avius) Lucilianus / eq(ues) pub(licus) et T. Avidiacus Fu(rianus) eq(ues) pub(licus) speleum / Soli invicto consumma(ver)unt cur(am) ag(ente) P. Peticen(o) Prim(o).

SUTRIUM

653

At Sutri, in the same rocky hill in which the Roman Theatre has been built, there is the Madonna del Parto's church. From its structure it becomes clear, that this originally must have been a Mithraeum.

Frothingham in *AJA* 1889, 320ff; Sestieri in *BCR* 1934, 33ff and fig.; Cumont, *Mithra en Etrurie*, 97ff and Tav. XI, 1, with fig. 1 (see fig. 182).

The present atrium of the church certainly served for a *pronaos* in the original Mithraeum. By it one enters the proper, orientated sanctuary (L. 21.20 Br. 6.70), which is sparsely illuminated by three windows in the leftside-wall. Two rows of ten columns, resting on one uninterrupted base, support the vault above the central aisle (Br. 2.47). The side-aisles however, have flat roofs.

The sanctuary has thus the usual division into a central aisle and two side-benches, the construction of which are still easily discernable. For there are two elevations (H. 0.50 Br. 0.30) running along the bases (*a*, *b*) of the columns and two other elevations run along the side-walls. There is nowadays a narrow corridor (Br. 0.75) along side the latter elevations (*c*, *d*) and the bases of the columns; but they certainly formed one whole.

The floor of the central aisle slopes upwards to the choir, broadening considerably and beginning at the end of the podia. In the back-wall there is a niche with a fresco of the H. Virgin but which originately must have contained the relief of Mithras tauroctone. This niche is accessible via three steps. Remarkable is that in elevation *c* a square basin is still visible. A brook, running in the immediate vicinity, supplied it with the required water.

654

Marble relief (H. 0.63 Br. 1.07 D. 0.025–0.03), broken in two pieces. Found at Sutri in 1896. Rome, Mus. Naz. Terme.

Cumont, *MMM* II 487 No. 98bis; *Mithra en Etrurie*, 96f and Tav. XII, 2; Taylor, *Cults Etruria*, 109f; Paribeni, *Terme Diocl.*, 139 No. 285. Fig. 183.

Mithras tauroctone in the usual dress. The bull's tail ends in three ears. The accompanying animals as the raven, dog, serpent and scorpion are present. The upper part with the heads of Sol and Mithras are broken off; of Luna the bust has been preserved only. Traces of gilding.

VICUS MATRINI

655

Relief of *peperino*, fixed in a great height into a wall of the old farm "Le Capanacce", situated on the main road Le Capranicie-Vetralla, about 6 km from Vicus Matrini along the Via Cassia.

Garucci, *Dissertazioni*, 33; Taylor, *Cults Etr.*, 112; Germano di Stanislao, *Memorie*, 98; *MM* 231; Cumont, *Mithra en Etrurie*, 101 and Pl. XI, 2.

In a vaulted cave Mithras as a bullkiller. The serpent creeping over the ground. Because of the damaged condition of the relief, it cannot be said for sure whether raven and scorpion had also been represented. The head, l.h., arm and leg of Mithras are lacking.

In the l. lower corner an inscription:

656

CIL XI 3320.

L. Avillius Rufinus posuit.

SORIANO NEL CIMINO

657

White marble relief (H. 0.58 Br. 0.62), found near the house of the Fontana family in a Roman villa, situated on the northern slope of the mountain Ciminus, not far from the crossing with a byroad, leading to the Tiber. It was found in a basement of concrete, which was full of rubbish. In the house of Fontana.

Germano di Stanislao, *Memorie*, 95ff and Pl. IVa No. 3; MM, 231; Cumont, *Mithra en Etrurie*, 102 with fig. 2; Taylor, *Cults Etruria*, 103. See fig. 184.

Mithras slaying the bull, whose tail ends in three ears. The leg of the god, which rests on the animal, is abnormally small. Dog, serpent and scorpion.

ARRETIIUM

658

Parvus cippus marmoreus, "ritrovato in un antico muro di una casa vicina alla chiesa di S. Niccolo in Arezzo".

CIL XI 1821; MMM II No. 204.

[In]victo / deo / sancto / salvo / Prunic/ian(o) n(ostro) / Myron ser(vus).

VOLSINII

659

1) Cast bronze low-relief (H. 0.25 Br. 0.20) with four holes in it, probably for fastening it into a wall. Head and arms in high-relief.

2) Embossed bronze relief (H. 0.17 Br. 0.26) also with four drill-holes.

The exact find-spot is unknown. Uncertain is the information, that they should come from Bolsena, from where they "*ex hypogaeo Herenniorum*" together with other bronze objects came into the collection of Marchese Ravizza. Now in the Etruscan Museum, Room XII of the Vatican Collections.

Cumont in *RA* (S. 1) XIX, 1892, 189ff with Pl. X; MMM II 259f No. 104 with figs. 97/98; Helbig, *Führer*, 13, 405 Nos. 750/751; Blinkenberg, *Arch. Studien*, 97f; Taylor, *Cults Etruria*, 158f; Cumont, *Mithra en Etrurie*, 96 n. 3; Alinari, 35501, see figs. 185 and 186.

1) A bust of a bearded god (Jupiter-Sabazios). The l. shoulder is covered with a cloak; on the other shoulder a perched eagle is represented. In the l.h. he holds a pine-cone; in the r.h. a broken branch with a snake winding itself around it. On the naked breast a sacrificial cake is represented in relief and a scene of Mithras tauroctone; to the right of it a ram's head and under it a *krater*.

2) Bust of a bearded god in Phrygian cap and *tunica manicata*. In the l.h. he holds a pine-cone; in the upraised r.h. a staff, decorated at the upper part and entwined by a serpent.

Cumont in *RA* XIX, 1892, 189 assumes an Italian origin from the Imperial period for the first relief; the second one should be earlier and of an Asiatic origin (*RA*, 191). Blinkenberg (p. 98) however, prefers in both reliefs a Gallo-Roman style.

660

Base, "trovata nelle vigne al di là del Paglia".

CIL XI 2684; CIL VI 3723; MMM II No. 161.

Soli invicto / Mitrhae(sic!) / Tiberius Claudi/us Tiberi filius / Thermodon / spelaeum cum / signis et ara / ceterisque / voti compos / dedit.

Of a Tiberius Claudius Thermodon we know dedications to Diana (CIL XI 2683) and to the Fortuna Primigenia (CIL XIV 2853).

RUSELLAE

661

Fragment of a white marble statue (H. 0.60 Br. 0.40), found at Rusellae, now in the Museum of Grosseto.

MMM II 257 No. 99 with fig. 94; RRS III, 140, 3; Taylor, *Cults Etruria*, 174.

The upper part of the body of Mithras tauroctone. Head and neck are of a different kind of marble. Besides the two legs, the l. arm and the r. arm (from the elbow) have got lost.

ASCIANO

662

Marble statue (H. 0.42 Br. 0.47), bought by Franz Cumont at Rome from a merchant in Rome, who said that it came from Asciano. Before Cumont's decease in his house, Corso d'Italia 19, Rome, now in the Belgian Academy, Valle Giulia.

Cumont, *Mithra en Etrurie*, 102f and Tav. XII, 1. See fig. 187, kindly given by Cumont.

On a rocky base Mithras as a bullkiller. The god wears a long *anaxyrides*. The dog (the hind-part lost) and the serpent with their heads near the wound; a big scorpion at the testicles. The serpent seems to emerge from the rocky ground.

PISAE

663

White marble relief (H. 0.44 Br. 0.55), the r. upper corner of which is missing. "Ritrovato incassato in un muro della stabile dei Signori Eredi Chiocchini in Pisa" (Lasinio). The inventory from 1883 mentions, that this house was situated in the Via l'Acciughe (quoted by Papini). Now in Campo Santo at Pisa.

Dütschke, *Bildw. Pisa*, 6 No. 9; Lasinio, *Racc. Pisa*, Pl. XVI, 36; MMM II 257f No. 100 and fig. 95; Papini, *Cat. Pisa*, 104 No. 174.

Mithras as a bullkiller. Dog and serpent near the wound; the scorpion on the usual place; the raven on a rocky stone. On either side Cautes (l) and Cautopates

(r). In the uppercorners the bust of Sol in radiate crown and the bust of Luna in a *velum*.

Traces of black-painting.

FLORENTIA(?)

The find-spot of the next three monuments, which are kept at Firenze, is unknown. It is not impossible, that they should have been found on the spot, but we have no single proof of it.

664

White marble statue (H. 0.37 Br. 0.43). In Palazzo Corsini Lung' Arno.

Dütschke, II No. 295; MMM II 259 No. 103.

Of the representation of Mithras tauroctone the upper part of the body, the legs and the l. arm, grasping the bull's head at the nostrils, are preserved only. Of the bull the hind quarter has been preserved, but the end of the tail and the hind-legs have got lost. The scorpion is still visible. The group is very restored; on the god's head is now a *petasus*.

665

White marble relief (H. 1.15 Br. 0.35). Galleria degli Uffizi.

Dütschke, III 180f No. 367; Müller-Wieseler, *Denkm.*, I, 967; MMM II 258f No. 101 and fig. 96; MM, Pl. II, 4; Hübner in *JVA* LVIII, 1876, Taf. VIII; Cook, *Zeus*, II (2), 1053 fig. 910. See fig. 188 by courtesy of the soprintendenza alle Gallerie-Firenze.

On a restored base a standing Aion with lion's head. His body is entwined by six windings of a serpent, which lays its head on that of the god. He has two wings attached to his hips and originally there were two more attached to his shoulders. In the r.h. he holds a key one tooth of which is still visible; in the other hand a sceptre, which partly has been broken off. Beside his r. leg one perceives a winding thunderbolt, ending in a human head.

666

Fragment of a marble statue (H. 0.72 Br. 0.43). Galleria degli Uffizi.

Dütschke, III, 88 No. 146; Conze in *AEMO* II, 119; MMM II 259 No. 102 and 487 No. 102 with fig. 420; Amelung, *Führ. Fl.*, 58f No. 83; Saxl, 70 and fig. 154; Brogi, 9246; Vermaseren in *Studia van Hoorn*, 289 and Pl. XXI, 3. See figs. 189 and 190 procured by the Soprintendenza alle Gallerie.

The naked Mithras, only preserved up to his navel, is born from the stone-rock. On the front of the rock a head in long hair and beard has been represented (Oceanus). At the back of the stone a hole for a water-tube, which communicates with the mouth of the water-god. Another tube runs upwards through Mithras' body.

667

A marble head at Florence, Uffizi (MMM I 182 n. 6; Amelung, *Führer Florenz*, 95 No. 151) with sorrowful expression, is probably a head of Mithras tauroctone (Cumont in *RA* 1947, 8f with fig. 6; Becatti, *Mitrei Ostia*, Pl. XXXIII, 2). Up till now this head has been interpreted as a "dying Alexander".

668

Rectangular marble relief (H. 0.68 L. 0.50 D. 0.09), the lower corners of which are broken off. At first in the Coll. Villa Martin at Settignano, now at Firenze, Arch. Museum (Inv. No. 89071). Found in Etruria.

Minto in *Hommage Bidez-Cumont*, 204ff and Pl. X, 1.

Mithras in Eastern attire slaying the bull, whose tail ends in three ears and whose body is surrounded by a large band. The god is looking back to the raven; dog and serpent lick the blood from the wound; the scorpion on the usual place. On either side a torchbearer: Cautes(l) and Cautopates (r) both in Eastern attire and cross-legged. In the upper corners the busts of Sol (l) and of Luna (r) in a crescent.

U M B R I A

NARNIA(?)

669

Fragment of marble relief (H. 0.30 Br. 0.33 D. 0.04), probably from Narni, but the exact find-spot is unknown. The place of origin may also be Nemi (*cf.* MMM I 364 No. 87*bis*). Rome, Mus. Naz. Terme.

Only a part of the representation is preserved. Mithras in Eastern dress as a bullkiller. Dog near the wound; the serpent is not clearly visible; before the bull Cautopates is standing, cross-legged. The greater part of Mithras and the bull, the feet of Cautopates have got lost.

INTERAMNA

670

White marble relief (H. 0.39 Br. 0.51 D. 0.10), found at Piedimonti near Terni in 1880. Formerly in the house of Marchese Erolì at Narni, nowadays in the Museo Municipale of Terni.

Bull. Inst., 1881, 82f; *Alcune prose e versi del marchese Giovanni Erolì* I, 1885, 523f with fig.; MMM II 253f No. 96 and fig. 88. See fig. 191.

Mithras tauroctone in a grotto. The dog, the serpent and the scorpion are present. Another scorpion is under the bull's tail. The raven on the rock. On either side Cautes (l) and Cautopates (r) in Eastern attire; cross-legged.

In the upper corners the bust of Sol in a radiate crown and the bust of Luna in crescent. Between them a row of five (originally seven) altars alternating with trees. On the lower border a row of seven vases one of which has got lost.

671

According to a communication, made by Franz Cumont, the Museum of the Thermes at Rome should have received in 1896 two new Mithrasmonuments, which should come from Narni. But after inquire at the Museum however, this origin proved to be unknown. They are the following:

- 1) Inv. No. 4304: a head of Mithras tauroctone in Phrygian cap (H. 0.20). Many traces of red and gilding.
- 2) The central part of a relief with the representation of Mithras slaying the bull (H. 0.30 Br. 0.35).

672

Reperta in rudibus Interamniae Lirinatis.

CIL X 533L; MMM II No. 201.

Soli in/victo comiti / Aug(usti) n(ostri).

SPOLETIUM

673

Mithraeum, discovered at Spoleto in 1878 on a plot called "i Casini", in the neighbourhood of the Porta S. Gregorio.

NSc 1878, 231; Gori in *Arch. Stor. Rom.* III, 1878/79, 55ff; 252ff; Coote in *Archaeologia* XLVII, 1882, 205ff with fig.; MMM II 255f No. 97 with figs. 89/90 (see fig. 192).

The sanctuary (L. 21.10 Br. 3.90) is divided in a central aisle (Br. 1.46) and two side-benches (H. 0.77 Br. 1.22). These benches are cut in two (L. 10.30 and 5.83) by a corridor (Br. 2.05) with its entrance on the right. To ascend the benches, there are small flights of stairs on either side. The podia come to an end at a distance of 2.92 meters from the back-wall. An understructure was made here, formerly divided into three parts by pillars, which supported columns. Only their bases have been preserved. In the middle part (Br. 1.50 D. 0.74) must have been the main scene of Mithras tauroctone, whereas in the two other niches the torchbearers had probably been represented. Between the left niche and the bench there was another kind of bench (H. 0.55 Br. 0.55).

In the middle of the wall of the benches on either side two niches had been made. The first two are at a distance of 5.30 from the back-wall on floor-level (H. 0.32 Br. 0.30 D. 0.22), the other two (H. 0.30 Br. 0.23 D. 0.22) were constructed 0.30 higher at a distance of 0.41 from the central aisle. At *DD* there are moreover two round holes in the form of holy-water basins. Three terracotta vases have been found in them.

The floor of the central aisle was covered with marble, the walls were covered with marble slabs as well. The walls of the benches were covered with plaster-work and several fragments with a red colour have been found. According to Gori many roofing-tiles have been found with a lot of material, damaged by fire.

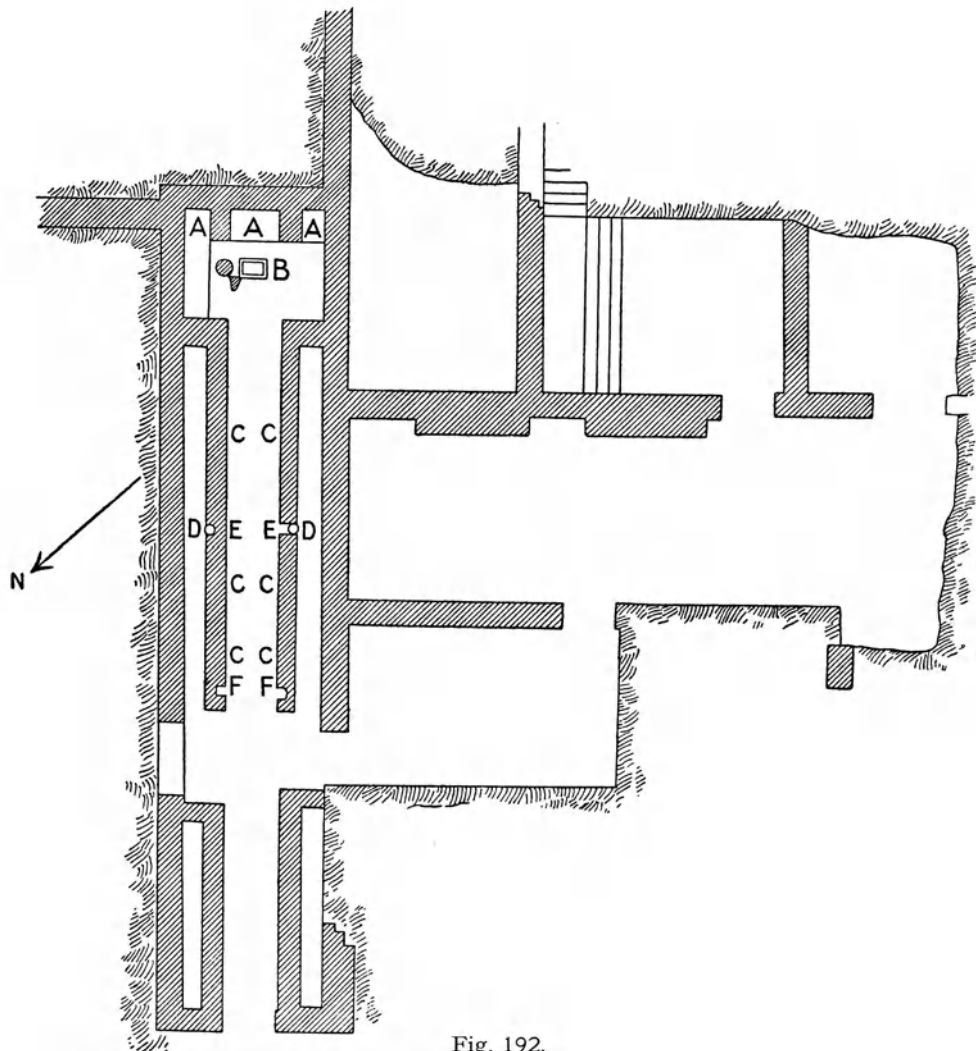


Fig. 192.

The door of the Mithraeum gives entry into a hall (L. 7.22 Br. 4.85), from which through another door one can get into an adjacent room (L. 14.80 Br. 4.80). There are several more rooms adjoining the sanctuary. These may form part of a large dwelling. Here were found a sacrificial knife and a piece of marble with the signs of the zodiac.

674

Altar of travertin (H. 1.02) with an inscription, found before the niche near B.

CIL XI 4774; MMM II No. 159.

Soli / invicto Mithrae / sacrum.

675

Cone-shaped piece of stone (H. 1.32) with a square hole on two third of its height. Found left of the preceding No. Because the stone tapers slightly it is not very probable, that it supported a representation of Mithras' rock-birth (as was supposed by Gori).

676

Triangular prisma in cippolino marble (H. 0.77 Br. 0.23). In the upper side a hollow. Stood in front of the preceding No.

677

On the walls of the side-benches originally six figures had been painted (see fig. 192, C). Two of them have been preserved only (MMM II figs. 91/92; *Ostia* 13).

1) At a distance of 8.15 from the South-side of the left bench: standing man in white beard, whose head is covered with a green cloak. His chest is nude (Saturnus). In his r.h. a *falx*; in his l.h. an oval object.

2) Standing youth in a red shoulder-cape with green folds, fastened on the l. shoulder. His body uncovered. In his outstretched r.h. he holds a yellow-green object (money-bag).

Apparently we have to do here with a representation of the six planets.

678

Statuette in bone (H. 0.10).

Gori, 62; Coote, 207; MMM II 256.

Youth, dressed in tunic and long cloak, whose head is surrounded by a laurel-wreath.

679

Terracotta arm (L. 0.13), found near the cone-shaped stone (No. 675).

Gori, 58; MMM II 256.

The hand holds a broken object (arm of Mithras' rock-birth?).

680

An oxidized sacrificial knife.

681

A medal in the form of a Grecian cross, on which busts of a bearded man and of a woman with veiled head (according to Cumont they might be Sol and Luna). Around both heads a radiate crown.

682

Earthen lamp with the name of C. Dessi; two coins of Constantine, one of Gratianus.

683

“Ornata di ovolo, reperta nel castello della Fratta presso Montefalco”.

CIL XI 4755; MMM II No. 203a.

Soli invicto.

OCREA

684

White marble fragment.

MMM II No. 160.

Mitrha(*sic!*).

Cf. No. 574; 660.

SENTINUM

685

Fragment of a marble statue (H. 0.40 Br. 0.60), found at Sentino and walled in the atrium of the Palace Raccamadoro-Ramelli.

Ramelli, *Mon. Sent.*, 15ff and Pl. I, 1; MMM II 257 no. 98 and fig. 93; RRS III, 138, 4.

Mithras tauroctone with the dog, serpent and scorpion. One foot behind the bull points to a torchbearer. Lost: the bull's head and tail; the dog's hind-quarter and Mithras' elbow and l. arm. Nicola Crivelli, keeper of the Pinacoteca Civica e Museo degli Arazzi at Fabriano wrote me, that also Mithras' head has got lost.

686

In the old Sentinum there certainly existed a Mithraeum. This not only appears from a marble group, which was discovered there, but also from three inscriptions (see below), which are interesting for the study of the cult-college and the grades of the initiated. Remarkable is also the mosaic, which Ramelli mentions (p. 26) already and which does show a relationship with Mithraic representations. But that this should belong to the same Mithraeum, is practically out of the question. For according to Ramelli (cf. *Bull. Ist.* March 27, 1846) this mosaic should have been dug up in 1806 near the place, where the relief and the inscriptions were brought to light and it should have been repaired thoroughly afterwards. From a correspondence, preserved at Würzburg, it appears however, that it was found on the grounds of the Countess of Leuchtenberg in 1826–1827 and that she gave it as a present to her father King Louis (Engelmann in *Arch. Zeit.* XXXV, 1877, 9 ff and Pl. III; cf. MMM II 419f No. 298 with fig. 350). Cumont (MMM II 257 No. 98 note) is moreover of the opinion, that the monuments which are discussed by Ramelli (pp. 31ff) and which are ascribed by him to a Mithraeum, situated on the site of the present Chiesa S. Croce, should rather belong to a Serapeum (cf. an inscr.: *Iovi Soli invicto Serapidi*).

For that matter the monuments given by Ramelli are altogether unknown in the Mithras-cult. Yet it proves that Ramelli with his identifications had a good insight

into the cult of Sol invictus. For this title, common to both Serapis and Mithras, did indeed effect an identification, as it was acknowledged in 1912 by an inscription, found in Rome in the Thermes of Caracalla (see No. 463).

687

MMM No. 156; CIL XI 5736.

Dicatus V id(us) Sept(embres) Antonino aug(usto) II et sacerdote II co(n)s(ulibus) / N(umini) s(ancto) S(olis) i(nvicti) Mithrae / duo Gessi Castus / et Severus simu/lacrum exorna/tum voto posu/erunt prosedente C. Propertio Augurino sacerd(ote).

210 A.D.

688

CIL XI 5737; MMM No. 157.

Cultores D(ei) S(olis) I(nvicti) Mithrae / (*Palm-branch*). Patroni, prosedente C. Propertio Profuturo /.

First column:

Coiedius Proculus / Ligurius Theodotus / Mussius Vindex /
Coiedius Hilarianus / Sentin(as) pater leonum Ianuarius /
Titius Castor / Pompe(i)us Pompeianus / Gessius Optabilis/
Ligurius Clementinus / Plotius Fortunatus / Licinius Faustus /
Aetrius Romanus / Asinius Commo[dus] / Visenn(ius) Quinqu[ennalis].

Second column:

Pompon(ius) Victor / Statius Velox / Vassiden(us) Verus / Helvenat(ius) Celer /
Carfan(ius) Achille(s) / Casidius Rufin(us) / Antist(ius) Benign(us) / Aetrius
Irenaeus / Helven(atius) Semellinus / Sentin(as) Valentin(us) / Iulius Victorin(us) /
[Ca]jecil(ius) Sozo[n]... / Ve[recund(us)]?...

Third column:

Rantif(ius) Verus / Caesoni(us) Dexter / Ianuarius Sent(inatium) / Aelius Ylas /
Coied(ius) Pamphilus / Aduren(us) Theseus / Coied(ius) Auxa[n]on (follows a space for five lines).

D. menesterio / T. Sevio Felice.

Ianuarius and *Valentinus* seem to be *liberti* of Sentinum.

According to a decree from 260 A.D. (CIL XI 5748) *Aetrius Romanus*, *Casidius Rufinus* and *Statius Velox* belong to a *collegium fabrum*. This inscription is thus of a later date than the preceding one. The materials too, in which they have been engraved, are different: the first is in marble, the other in lime-stone.

689

Inscription on an altar in limestone.

CIL XI 5735; MMM II No. 158.

Invicto / prosedente / Sevio Facundo / Umbri / Rufinus et / Aemilianus / leones.

P I C E N U M

MACERATA

690

White marble relief (H. 0.48 Br. 0.60), probably from Macerata. Museum at Braunsberg.

Hülsen in *RM* 1904, 153; Greifenhagen in *AA* 1933, 443f and fig. 24 (see fig. 193).

Mithras as killer of the bull, whose tail ends in three ears. The god has the Eastern attire and the normal attitude, around his head six rays. The bull bears a large band round its body. The raven in the l. upper corner; the dog and the snake with their heads near the wound; the scorpion at the testicles. On either side Cautes (r) and Cautopates (l), who hold their torches with both hands. Not cross-legged. In the r. upper corner an inscription:

691

[I]nvicto Propitio / Sal(vius) Novanio / [L]ucianus / d(onum) p(osuit).

C I S P A D A N A

PISIGNANO

692

Low-relief (H. 0.80 Br. 0.29 D. 0.22) in the church of Santo Stefano at Pisignano, South of Ravenna. The exact find-spot is unknown, but probably it originates from Pisignano itself.

Ducati in *Felix Ravenna* V, 1912, 191ff with Tav. 15; MM, 231. See fig. 194.

Mithras tauroctone in Eastern attire. Around his Phrygian cap an aureole and seven rays. He is looking at the raven, which is perched on a rocky stone behind him. The dog is licking the blood from the wound, the serpent creeps over the ground; the scorpion at the testicles. No torchbearers. Mithras' r. arm and hand with dagger have got lost.

BONONIA

693

White marble low-relief (H. 0.22 Br. 0.27), kept at Bologna, formerly in the University's Museum, now in the Museo Civico, Room VI. The exact find-spot is unknown.

Conze in *Arch. Zeit.* XXV, 1867, 91; MMM II 260f No. 106 with fig. 99;

Ducati, *Mus. Bol.*, 69. See fig. 195 with kind permission of the Direction of the Museo Civico.

Mithras is slaying the bull, whose tail ends in one single ear. Round its body there is a wide, decorated band. The dog is licking the blood from the wound; the serpent and the scorpion; the torchbearers in Eastern attire, cross-legged. Before them a tree with an animal attached to the trunk; before Cautopates (l) a scorpion and before Cautes (r) an animal's head (bull?).

On the vaulted upper border the raven and the busts of the seven planets are represented: (from the left to the right)

- 1) Sol, around whose head a radiate crown.
- 2) Bearded Saturnus with long hair.
- 3) Venus as a young woman with diadem in the hair.
- 4) Bearded Jupiter with *kalathos* on the wavy hair.
- 5) Mercurius with winged *petasus*.
- 6) Bearded Mars in helmet.
- 7) Luna with crescent above her head.

On the lower border (from l. to r.) three representations:

- a) On a couch three persons, reclining at table, the upper part of the body of the first person is uncovered. A table in front of them.
- b) Naked child-like figure on a *biga*; in his r.h. a garland. He wears a flying shoulder-cape and on his back a quiver is visible or is it part of a person behind him (Sol in his chariot?).
- c) Bearded, reclining person, dressed in a cloak, which leaves the upper part of his body uncovered (Oceanus).

694

Low-relief in limestone (H. 0.37 Br. 0.27). Exact find-spot unknown. Bologna, Museo Civico, Room VI (Inv. Coll. Palagi No. 781).

MMM II 261f No. 107 with fig. 100; Ducati, *Mus. Bol.*, 68. See fig. 196.

Standing Cautopates in Eastern attire; cross-legged. At his feet a lying bull. Behind him a bush with long, pointed leaves. Before him an upturned jar, from which water abundantly flows. In the l. upper corner a crescent.

MUTINA OR ROMA(?)

695

White marble relief (H. 0.71 Br. 0.49). About the discovery of this monument little is known. According to Cavedoni it was "à l'époque de Muratori (1672–1750) dans le palais du Marquis Sigismund d'Este à San Martino in Rio, terre du duché de Reggio, distante de 8 milles de cette cité" and he adds an hesitating datum about its origin: "Comme ce seigneur de S. Martino possédait d'autres antiquités de Rome, il paraît assez vraisemblable que le basrelief est aussi d'origine romaine". After that it lay forgotten at Modena from 1752 until it drew Moreni's attention; now Museum Modena No. 2676.

Cavedoni, *App.*, 18f; *Att. Mem. Mod.*, I 1863, 1ff; cf. Bortolotti, *Spec.*, 244 No. 246; Venturi, *Gall. Mod.*, 360 fig. 94; Cumont in *RA* (S. 3) XII, 1902, 1ff and Pl. I; *RHR* CIX, 1934, 65ff; MM Pl. II, 3; RRR III, 61, 1; Legge in *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* XXXVII, 1915, 155 and Pl. XVIII, 2; Eisler, *Weltenmantel*, II, 400ff and fig. 47; Boulanger, *Orphée*, 62n. 1; Cook, *Zeus*, II, 1051ff and fig. 909; Guthrie, *Orpheus*, 254; Albizzati in *Athenaeum* 1937, 193 Pl. 1; Panofsky, *Hercules*, Tav. V, 8; D. Levi in *Hesperia* XII, 1944, 290 fig. 16; Nilsson in *Symb. Osl.* XXIV, 1945, 1ff with fig.; Pettazzoni in *AntC.* XVIII, 1949, 272

and Pl. IV, 8; Vermaseren, *Mithrasdienst*, 97ff. See fig. 197, procured by the Keeper of the Museum.

In the centre a standing, naked youth, holding a long staff with his left and a thunderbolt with his right. His hoof-shaped feet rest on an upturned cone (half egg) from which flames are pouring forth. Above his curly head with five rays, is a similar cone, turned in the opposite direction and also aflame. Above this fire the head of a serpent, which winds itself round the figure in four spirals. Behind his shoulders with the two wings, the horns of a crescent are visible. On his breast the mask of a lion's head, while from his sides the heads of a ram (r) and a buck (l) are budding forth.

The figure is standing in a kind of niche, which is boarded by an elliptical band which is divided into twelve parts. Each part contains a sign of the zodiac. Beginning above the head of the deity to the left viz: Aries-Taurus-of the Gemini, which embrace each other, one holds a lyre-Cancer-Leo-dressed Virgo with corn-ears in her left-Libra, carried by a standing, naked youth-Scorpio-Sagittarius in the figure of a Centaur, shooting a bow-Capricornus with a fish-tail; Aquarius, a standing, naked youth, emptying an amphora over his l. shoulder-Pisces.

In the corners the heads of the winds, two young and beardless, two shaggy and bearded: Zephyrus (top right)-Notus (top left)-Boreas (bottom left)-Eurus (bottom right). The relief has an inscription:

696

Beside the god's legs:

Euphrosy/n[e] et Felix.

In the lower corners:

P(ecunia) p(osuit) / Felix pater.

The name of Euphrosyne has been obliterated as well as possible in accordance with the rule that in the Mithras-cult no women were allowed.

Although formerly little attention was paid to the relief, it has been one of the main topics of discussion during the last few decennia. On the ground of an inscription from Rome (No. 475), Cumont is of the opinion that the youthful figure must be the god of Eternal Time, identified with the Orphic Phanes. There is of course a chance, that the relief should have belonged to an Orphic sect before it came to be the property of the followers of Mithras. In connection with this suggestion we venture to point to the obliterated name of a woman. The analogy between the god of Time and Phanes can be accounted for, if one remembers, how Phanes owes his existence to Time. So it might be a resemblance of father and son. Iconologically important on the other hand is also the Phanes-Pan identification, which here finds its expression in the hoof-shaped feet of the god, whereas moreover the whole shows a close relationship with the representations of Mithras' rock-birth, the Persian god with whom Phanes had also been identified. So the relief is of a very syncretistic nature. Astrologic, Orphic, Chaldaic and magic influences are interwoven in this relief, as was shown by Nilsson.

GANACETO

697

Fragment of a white marble relief (H. 0.50 Br. 0.20-0.13), found in the house

of Coppi Calzolaio at Ganaceto near Modena in 1845. Now at Modena, Museo Lapidario, walled in the inner court, right of the entrance.

Cavedoni in *BullInst* 1845, 27; MMM II 162 No. 108.

Cautes in Eastern attire and *anaxyrides*; cross-legged. According to Cumont a part of Mithras' flying cloak should be visible (fragment of Mithras tauroctone).

L I G U R I A

DERTONA

698

Right side of a marble slab (Tortona).

CIL V 7362; MMM II No. 163.

D(eo) S(oli) M(ithrae) i(nvicto) / ... (se)vir / ... et / ... i.l / l / l... af../.

INDUSTRIA

699

Ara reperta 1830, extat in aedibus porta (Monteu del Po).

CIL V 7474; MMM II No. 164.

[D(eo)] i(nvicto) M(ithrae) / C. Indus/trius / Verus / d(onum) d(edit).

AUG. TAURINORUM

700

Dütschke, *Ant. Bildw.*, IV, 103 No. 242/3 (*cf.* MMM II 421 No. 301) mentions two small heads in Phrygian caps, probably of the torchbearers. Museum at Turin.

701

In veteri lapideo architravi. Turin.

CIL V 6958; MMM II No. 219.

Soli deo.

T R A N S P A D A N A

VERONA

702

CIL V 3278; MMM II No. 209.

Soli / L. Cassius / L(ucii) l(ibertus) / Ianuarius / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito) / l(aetus) d(onum) d(edit) d(icavit).

VERCELLAE

703

Basis exigua reperta 1874.

CIL V 8939; MMM II No. 218.

..Suria. / ..illus ne/gotiator / d(eo) inv(i)cto / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens).

NOVARIA

704

Aronae "nelle case Pertossianae" near Novaria.

CIL V 8997; MMM II No. 193.

[S]acrum Soli / Mit[hr]ae numini / v... invict(o) deo / [v]isu iussus / Aelius Secundinus.

v probably read instead N(abarze) (Cumont).

MEDIOLANUM

705

Ara rep. Mediolani.

CIL V 5659; MMM II No. 189.

D(eo) [i(nvicto)] M(ithrae) / Varia / Q(uinti) f(ilia) / Severa / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

Because the altar has been erected by a woman it may be dedicated to the *D(is) M(anibus)*.

706

In Ambrosianae aedis pariete.

CIL V 5795; MMM II No. 190.

D(eo) S(oli) i(nvicto) M(ithrae) / P. Acil(ius) Piso/nianus pater / patratus qui / hoc speum / vii(*sic!*)ignis ab/sumtum com/parata area a re/publ(ica) Mediol(a-nensi) / pecunia sua / restituit.

707

Mediolani in vico Vicciomitum.

CIL V 5796; MMM II No. 191.

D(eo) i(nvicto) [M(ithrae)] / L. Atilius / Pupinius / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito) / l(oco) d(ato) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).

708

CIL V 5893; MMM II No. 192.

M. Valeri[us] / Maximu[s] / sacerdo[s] / d(ei) S(olis) i(nvicti) M(ithrae) / stu[di(o)-sus] astrologia[e] / sibi et / Severiae Apr... / uxori. / H(oc) m(onumentum) h(eredem) n(on) [s(equetur)].

709

Ara reperta anno 1869 in moenibus antiquis ibi ubi fuit turris S. Agathae, via Monte di Pietà.

CIL V 5797; MMM II No. 217.

Invicto / patrio / Ulb(ius) Gaianus / praef(ectus) vehic(ulorum).

BERGOMUM

710

Caelestinus, quoted by the Corpus, gives an interesting communication: "Nel cavarsi i fundamenti della nuova muraglia sotto il monasterio di S. Grata si

scoperse una bella cappellata di pietre vive quadrate ove era una colonnetta di bianco marmo con una testa di vitello di bronzo sopra (come han riferito quei che la viddero) e nella base si leggono queste parole”:

CIL V 5116; MMM No. 216.

Deo invicto / l(ibens) d(e) s(uo).

INTROBBIO

711

Found at Introbbio in Valsassina “in loco Caravéro” in 1883.

CIL V 5204; MMM II No. 215.

Invicto / v(otum) s(olvit) / C. V(alerius) Rufinus / v(oto) l(ibens) v(ovit).

BRIXIA

712

Brixio in monastero quod fuit S. Iuliae in arcu qui sustinet cryptam S. Mariae in Solario.

CIL V 4284; MMM II No. 214.

Deo Soli / respubl(ica).

713

CIL V 4283; MMM II No. 213.

Soli deo / invicto / ex voto / Sex(tus) Dugius / Valentio / VI vir aug(ustalis).

CAMUNI

714

In loco dicto “la Oneda” propre Brenum.

CIL V 4948; MMM II No. 212.

Soli divino / L. Apisocius / Succ[e]ssus pro / se et pro patro/nis M(arco) G(aio) L(ucio) Q(uinto).

Under it a “pugio cum taeniis”.

715

Civitate di val Camonica. Cippus ex marmore nigro scriptus litteris non bonis sed certis.

CIL V 4935; MMM II No. 181.

Cautopati / G(aius) Munatius / Quir(ina) Tiro II vir i(uri) d(icundo) et G(aius) Mun/atius Fronto/ filius d(onum) d(ederunt).

ANGERA

716

In the rock about half-way up the mountain on which the castle of Angera is situated, a cave, which in popular language is called: “la Tana del lupo”, has been hewn out.

Biondinelli in *Rend. Ist. Lomb.* (S. 2) I, 1868, 527ff; MMM II 262 No. 109 with fig. 101; Patroni in *NSc* XV, 1918, 3ff; Baserga, *Scavi Angera*, 3ff.

The limestone cave, in which the Mithraeum (L. 7.50 Br. 4.70 H. 4.80) is situated, opens in the East. Above and around the entry (Br. 3.60) in the outer-wall fourteen rectangular holes have been made, in which still traces of cement can be found. Above these there are moreover four big square holes, so that it may be accepted that they served as sockets to hold the posts of a wooden entrance-hall. The cave itself served as the apse to the sanctuary. In the back-wall a niche (H. 1.00 Br. 1.40 D. 0.40) has been hewn out, in which the cult-relief had been erected. Along the left wall a bench has been constructed (L. 2.25 Br. 0.25), while on the right hand side of the cave a natural opening (Br. 0.80) gives entry into a steep flight of stairs, leading to an excavation through which light and air could enter.

Among the finds, in and in front of the Mithraeum, there were numerous fragments of crockery. Further bones of cattle, goats, poultry and swine. Before the entrance two skeletons were found. It is not sure however, if these finds may be connected with the cult, as they mostly seem to have served to fill up and strengthen the floor. The numerous coins mainly date from the fourth century. In the temple itself no reliefs or altars have been found. Though at Angera two Mithras-inscriptions were found (see below), it is quite possible that they may come from a second sanctuary which is thought to have stood in the garden of Dr. Castiglioni, where they are kept nowadays. It is remarkable, that in this small place also dedications to Jupiter, Hercules, Mercurius and Silvanus are found, beside those to Mithras.

717

CIL V 5477; MMM II No. 188. Angeriae in divi Alexandri fano.

D(eo) S(oli) i(nvicto) M(ithrae) / adiutor(i) / Valerian(us) / Petalus v(otum) [s(olvit)].

718

Altar, found at Angera in the garden of Dott. Castiglioni, "vicino alla chiesa prepositurale, infisso nel muro di un portico rustico" in 1868.

CIL V 5465; MMM II No. 187.

Cautopati sac[r(um)] / M(arcus) Status Nig[er] / VI vir aug(ustalis) c(reatus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) [M(ediolanensium)] / leg(atus?) dend(rophorum) c(oloniae) A(ureliae?) A(ugustae?) M(ediolanii) / et C(aius) Valerius Iulia[nus?] / leones leg(ati?) v(otum) s(olverunt) l(ibentes) m(erito).

719

Six small marble columns (H. 0.85–0.90), found together with the preceding No.

Biondinelli, 530f and Tav. II, 2/3; MMM II 265 No. 110; Baserga, 7 with figs. 2–5.

Two of the columns have no other ornaments than the flutes. Of two others the shafts are modelled like the stems of palm-trees, whereas on the upper ledge alternately lion's and Gorgon's heads are represented. On the shafts of the two last columns, graceful coils have been made and the upper ledge shows a motif of two griffins on either side of an amphora. This motif is relieved each time by a *krater*.

720

White marble base of an altar (H. 0.92 Br. 0.70), kept in the Chapel of the castle on the hill.

Biondinelli, 515f with Tav. II, 1; MMM II 264 with figs. 102–104; Eisler, *Weltenmantel*, II, 529 fig. 61; Baserga, 5.

The top of the base is decorated with a line of palmettes. In the front there are two eagles carrying a festoon in their beaks. Lower, between two rosettes, an inscription No. 721.

The reverse shows the same motif, only the eagles have been replaced by two dolphins.

On the left side stands a naked, bearded person with a thunderbolt in his lifted r.h. in front of another naked figure, whom he grasps by the hair. This kneeling figure, whose feet end in snake-tails, tries to keep him off with his r.h., while in his l.h., pressed against his hip, he holds an undefinable object (Jupiter with a Gigant).

On the right side a similar representation. A naked, bearded figure, with only a cape around his shoulders, raises a kind of trident against a bearded Gigant, who lifts a piece of rock with his r.h. to keep off the attacker (Neptunus?).

721

CIL V 5471; MMM II 188a.

I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo) / M. Calvius / Satullio / vican(i) Sebuini basim.

COMUM

722

Ann. ép. 1914, No. 249; 1918 No. 124.

Templum dei Solis / iussu d(ominorum) n(ostorum) Diocletiani / et Maximiani Aug(ustorum) / T(itus) Fl(avius) Post(umius) Titianus v(ir) c(larissimus) corr(ector) / Ital(iae) perfecit ac dedicavit / curante Axilio iuniore / v(iro) c(larissimo) curatore c[iv(itatis) Comensium].

Titus Flavius Postumius was a *consul* in 301, then a *consul suffectus* and finally *curator Italiae Transpadanae* (CIL VI 1418; 1419).

SAN ZENO

723

Fragment of a white marble relief, worked on either side (H. 0.79 Br. 0.18),

found in the ruins of the Castello di Tuenno near the entry to the Tovel-valley. Trento, Museo Nazionale.

Zanella in *Ann. Ist.* 1864, 81 and Pl. F 1-2; MMM II 266f No. 114 with figs. 106-107; Campi in *Arch. Trentino* XXIV, 1909, 15ff. with Tav. II, 2-3; Mayr in *der Schlern* IX, 1928, 86. Figs. 198-199 kindly procured by the Keeper of the Museum.

Of the main scene are only visible a foot of Mithras, remnants of a torch-bearer and above it the head of Sol in radiate crown. The entire l. side-border has been preserved, on which, separated by an horizontal ledge, the following scenes are represented. From top to bottom:

O b v e r s e:

1) Standing, bearded person in long hair. His cloak leaves his r. shoulder and part of his chest uncovered. In his hanging r.h. he holds a thin bar against a boulder (Jupiter or Saturnus?).

2) A similar person in the same attire in reclining attitude. In his r.h. he holds an oblong object (reed?) (Oceanus).

3) A naked, kneeling figure raises a thunderbolt in order to strike a Gigant with snake-feet, who is lying before him.

4) Standing, bearded figure, dressed in a long cloak shakes hands with naked Sol, standing by his side. Sol wears an aureole round his head and holds a whip in his l.h.

5) Kneeling, naked person, holding a spherical object with his l.h. (Atlas).

There must have been other scenes on the upper ledge of the relief.

The R e v e r s e represents the r. side of a large scene. Before the bull's head stands Cautus with upraised arm (torch lost) on a large boulder, against which a snake is winding its way up. At the foot of the boulder waving lines (water?). Above the head of the torchbearer a great tree (cypress) is visible, with a wild boar tearing down towards it. Of the animal only the head and forelegs have been preserved. Below this the following inscription:

724

CIL V 5066; MMM II No. 185.

[Deo] i(nvicto) M(ithrae).

725

Fragment of coarse-grained yellowish-white marble (H. 0.23 Br. 0.25-0.135 D. 0.05-0.06), found in 1911 at operations of the restaurant of Leopold Inama's at S. Zeno am Nonsberg, where it had been walled in. Innsbruck, Museum Ferdinandeum.

Zeitschrift des Ferdinandeums, 1912, XXVI; Mayr in *der Schlern* IX, 1928, 84f with fig.

Of the primitive relief only a part of Mithras slaying the bull with his dagger

has been preserved. The heads of the serpent and the dog near the wound. Before this scene Cautes, raising with both hands the flaming torch; not cross-legged.

726

Fragment of a limestone low-relief (H. 0.33 Br. 0.19), found at S. Zeno in 1869 "a pochi metri dall'apertura della strettissima, dirupata e breve valle di S. Romedio". In the Museum at Trento.

de Vigili, *Raccoglitore di Rovereto* 19 Maggio, 1871; *Arch. Trentino* I, 1882, 135ff; Inama in *Arch. Trentino* 1895 No. 13 (the inscr.); MMM II 267 No. 115 with fig. 108; Campi in *Arch. Trentino* XXIV, 1909, 11ff with Tav. II, 1; Mayr in *der Schlern* IX, 1928, 86 with fig. (see fig. 200).

In an arched niche a primitive representation of Mithras as a bullkiller. The dog, the serpent and the scorpion on the usual places. Before the bull stands Cautes with upraised torch, not cross-legged. Above him in the r. upper corner the covered bust of Luna with a crescent behind her shoulders. The rest of the relief has got lost. On the lower border an inscription.

727

CIL V 8892; MMM II No. 184.

[D(eo) i(nvicto) M(ithrae)] uida Marius/ l(ibens) p(osuit).

728

The remnants of a wall, which were found here deep under the ground, may point to the existence of a Mithraeum. At the same time a few Roman coins, some bronze figures (now lost) and a small gold disc (L. 0.09), on which an ear of corn or a sword had been represented, came to light.

729

A limestone relief (H. 0.37 Br. 0.20), worked on either side. Found in the neighbourhood of Meclò near Val di Non in 1895. Trento, Museo Nazionale.

MMM I 364 No. 114bis; Campi in *Arch. Trentino* XXIV, 1909, 18ff and fig. III, 1-2; Mayr in *der Schlern* IX, 1928, 86. Our figs. 201-202 received from the Direction of the Museum.

O b v e r s e: a raven. Above it an altar, with a person standing on either side of whom only the legs have been preserved.

R e v e r s e: two scenes above each other.

1) A dressed person lifts a rock(?) with his r.h., in order to strike a kneeling person in Phrygian cap (Sol and Mithras?).

2) Mithras as a *taurophorus* to the left.

EISACK

730

Ad Sabonam "am Konterweg".

CIL V 5082; MMM II No. 186.

D(eo) i(nvicto) M(ithrae) / et Soli soci/o sac(rum) Valen/tinus Se/cund[i]on[i]s /
ob memor(iam) / patris sui / ex colleg(a) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

TRIDENTUM

731

Square base, found in 1868 "sotto la cascata di Sardagna a S. Niccolo prossimo alla antica strada Romana frammezzo ad un terreno pieno di rottami, di ossa, e di sostanze carbonizzate, che accennano ad una necropoli" (Bassetti).

Probably there existed here a Mithraeum.

732

CIL V 5019; MMM II No. 182.

Deo invicto M(ithrae) L. / Claudius Iustio cum / filis Iusto / et Iustino /
d(onum) d(at).

733

Square base, found together with the preceding No.

CIL V 5020; MMM II No. 183.

Gen(etrici) / pro ge(nitura) / dei / Q. Muiel(ius) Ius/tus cum s(uis).

734

Rehm in *Hermes*, 1914, 313; *Ann. Ep.* 1914 No. 256.

Soli / Q. Mui(elius) / Iustus / c(um) s(uis).

TORCELLO

735

Marble relief (H. 1.23 Br. 0.74), found at S. Michele di Zampanigo, a small island near Torcello. Museum of Torcello.

Levi in *Atti del R. Istituto Venetodi Scienze, Lettere ed Arti* (S. 6) VI, 1888 (I was not able to consult this article); L. Conton, *Torcello*, 29f with fig.

In a frame of poppies a person is standing in Eastern attire; cross-legged. He rests his head in r.h.; holding a torch downwards in his left (Cautopates?).

AQUILEIA

736

Relief in white marble (H. 0.55 Br. 0.90 D. 0.22), found South of Monastero near Aquileia in 1888. Vienna, Alt. Mus. Room X 39.

von Schneider, *Album*, 8 and Pl. XXI; *JdI* 1891, 176; *Drei Römerstädte*, 29 with fig.; MMM II 267f No. 116 and Pl. III; MM, Pl. I, 1; RRR II 141, 1; Saxl, 23 and figs. 66, 68, 69, 70; Hinks in Bruton, *Fort. Manch.*, Pl. 13. See figs. 203–204.

The artful relief represents Mithras tauroctone in a grotto. Around the bull's

body a large band. The dog, the serpent and the scorpion on the usual places; the raven is perched on Mithras' flying cloak. Mithras is looking upwards. On either side stands Cautes (r) and Cautopates (l) with their flaming torches; cross-legged. Behind the latter two bucks lie on the floor, a third is standing on his hind-legs to get at the leaves of a tree. Above them Sol in a *quadriga* drives towards heaven. In the r. upper corner the dressed bust of Luna with a crescent behind her shoulders, looking down. Lost: the l. arm of Cautes, two heads of the horses of the *quadriga*, the raven but for its two feet, part of the snake and the l. upper corner of the relief. Probably from the second cent. A.D.

737

Fragment of a relief (H. 0.23 Br. 0.32) from Aquileia. Trieste, Mus. Lap.

MMM II 269 No. 117 and fig. 109.

A part of Mithras' flying cloak and the head of one of the torchbearers.

738

Found at Aquileia in 1805.

CIL V 763; MMM II No. 165.

1) Cautop(ati) / Q. Baienus / Procul(us) / pater.

2) Cauti / Q. Baienus / Procul(us) / pater.

739

Inscription, copied in S. Marco's at Venice in 1829.

CIL V 764.

Soli / sacrum / Q. Baienus / Proculus / pater / nomimus.

pater nomimus: cf. Sidon, Nos 76; 79; 85.

Baienus is mentioned also on a somewhat suspicious dedication to the *Fata augusta*: CIL V 37; MMM II No. 167:

Fatis aug(ustis) sacr(um) / Q. Baienus / Proculus / cum suis / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

740

Belignae post domum parochi reperta.

CIL V 765; MMM II No. 168.

Cautopati / aug(usto) sac(rum) / Callistus / o . . .

741

Found near Aquileia "in un casale fuori di Aq. oltre la Villa di Monasterio vi sono in una colonna le tre seguenti iscrizioni". Together with the two following Nos.

CIL V 805; MMM No. 169.

Deo i(nvicto) i(nvicto?) M(ithrae) / P. Aelius / Mercur(ialis) / Q. Tessig/nius Maxi/mia(nus) patr(es) / pro St(atio?) Aur(elio) / Victore v(otum) s(olverunt) l(ibentes) m(erito).

742

CIL V 808; MMM II No. 170.

D(eo) i(nvicto) M(ithrae) / Fl(avius) Exuperat(us) / agens in lus[t(ratione)] /
 Fl(avii) Sabini pr(im)p(ili) / Ael(ius) Severus / agens lust(ratione) / Aur(elii)
 Flav(iani) pr(incipis) / signif(eri) leg(ionis) III p(iae) f(idelis) / [Philippianae]
 Val(erius) Valens / signif(er) leg(ionis) XIII gem(inae) / lustr(atione) Aur(elii)
 Zenon(is) / pr(im)p(ili) / v(otum) s(olverunt) l(ibentes) m(erito).

IIII Flavia Felix is supplied also by Mommsen.

According to CIL V 2837 Valerius Valens is set in 244 A.D., so *Philippianae* can be supplied by Domaszewski.

743

CIL V 811; MMM II No. 171.

...pti... / Marcian(us) / opt(io) leg(ionis) II ad(iutricis) / p(iae) f(idelis) /
 [Antoniniana?] pro salute / sua et suorum / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

The first line may be supplied: [*Cauto*]p(a)ti [*s(acrum)*] (Cumont).

744

CIL V 806; MMM II No. 172.

S(oli) i(nvicto) M(ithrae) / C. Calidius / Agathopus / VI vir Aqu(ilei)ensis) /
 v(otum) s(olvit).

745

MMM II No. 173.

D(eo) i(nvicto) M(ithrae) / L. Sept(imius) Cas/sianus sig(nifer) / legionis IIIIII
 His(panae) / agens in lustro P. / Porci Fausti / p(rimi)p(ili) v(otum) p(osuit)
 l(ibens) m(erito).

Legio VI victrix quamquam primo saeculo in Hispania castra habuit, hic intelligi nequit, cum titulus sit tertii potius quam secundi saeculi, accedit quod numerus is ita scribi non debet. Quam ob rem pro VIII quadratarium puto dedisse errore IIIIII (Mommsen).

746

Aquileiae reperta ad fundamentum moenium Theodosii...

CIL V 809; MMM II No 174.

Deo / [in]victo / [Mit]hrae / ...ntius / [Ma]nilianus.

747

CIL V 810; MMM II No. 175.

Pro salute / Tiberi Claudi / Macronis con(ductoris) / fer(rariarum) Nor(icarum)
 Velox ser(vus) / vil(icus) speleum cum / omni apparatu fecit.

748

Ara cistae mysticae formam reddens Aquileiae rep. anno 1828.

CIL V 8239; MMM II No. 176.

D(eo) M(ithrae) S(oli).

749

Epistylia fragmenta.

CIL V 8240; MMM II No. 177.

[Deo in]victo [Mi]th[rae].

750

CIL V 803; MMM II No. 205.

Deo Soli / Diocletianus / et / Maximianus / invicti aug(usti).

Cf. Herodianus VIII, 3; CIL V 732 dedication to Apollo Belenus by Diocletianus and Maximianus.

751

In villa Vicentina.

CIL V 804; MMM II No. 206.

Deo / invicto / L. Aebutius / Eut[y]chus / Primi lib(ertus).

752

In ecclesia S. Felicis.

CIL V 807; MMM II No. 207.

Soli / deo / invicto / sacrum / Feronius Censor / signi / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

Between *Soli* and *deo* a head probably of Sol.

753

In ruinis aedis Isidis repertus.

CIL V 8970; MMM II No. 208.

[D]omin[o] / S(oli) s(acrum).

VAL DI DENTE

754

Sandstone altar (H. 0.94 Br. 0.51) found at Val di Dente near Cittanova in Histria.

MMM II No. 178.

D(eo) S(oli) i(nvicto) M(ithrae) / pro salute et / victoria s(acratissimorum) d(ominorum) n(ostorum) / Philipporum Aug(ustorum) / et Otaciliae Severe Aug(ustae) / Charitinus l(ibertus) s(ub)proc(urator) / et Sabinianus l(ibertus) ad/iut(or) tab(ulariorum) / d(evoti) n(umini) m(aiestati)q(ue) e(orum).

Between 244–247 A.D.

POLA

755

Fragment of a limestone relief (H. 0.50 Br. 0.89 D. 0.23–0.42), found at Pola “am Südabhang des Castellhügels bei Demolisierung einer Mauer”. Pola, Mus. Lap.

MCC XII, 1886, CLXV fig. 2; Reichel in *AEMO* XVI, 1893, 6 with fig. 15;

MMM II 269 No. 118 with fig. 110; *JOAI* (*Beibl.*), 1910, 190.

Mithras as a bullkiller in the usual attitude. Head, arms and cloak with the raven have got lost. Of the bull the head, the end of the tail and the r. hind-leg are missing. The dog and the serpent with their heads near the wound; the scorpion at the testicles. Before the bull a standing torchbearer, cross-legged. The upper part of his body with the head and arms got lost.

756

Small votive altar in limestone (H. 0.61 Br. 0.30 D. 0.31).

Reichel in *AEMO* XVI, 1893, 6 No. 88.

On the front side the head of a youth in long curly hair (Sol). Face damaged.

Above the head an inscription:

757

Soli

under the head:

Milace / Atticus.

758

Reperta in fullonica intus in diaeta quadam, quae aliquando vestibuli loco fuit.

CIL V 8132; *MMM* II No. 179.

D(eo) M(ithrae).

VERONA(?)

759

White marble relief (H. 0.50 Br. 0.55), find-spot unknown. Verona, Mus. Lap.

Maffei, *Mus. Ver.*, Pl. LXXVI, 105; Zoega, *Abh.*, 151 No. 33; Dütschke, IV 192 No. 440; *MMM* II 265 No. 111 and fig. 105. See fig. 205 by courtesy of the Soprintendenza of the Museum Verona.

Mithras as a bullkiller. The dog with a collar and the serpent holding their heads near the wound; the scorpion on the usual place. The god is looking at the raven, which is perched on his flying cloak. The bull's tails ends in three ears.

On either side a standing torchbearer: Cautes (l) and Cautopates (r); cross-legged. In the upper corners the bust of Sol in radiate crown (l) and the bust of Luna (r) with a crescent behind her shoulders.

UNKNOWN ORIGIN

760

Bronze head (H. 0.05). Formerly Coll. Towneley, now London, Br. Mus.

Walters, *Cat. Bronzes*, 184 No. 1018.

Head in Phrygian cap. Around it seven rays one of which has got lost.

761

Bronze statuette (H. 0.10). Formerly Coll. Payne Knight, then Coll. Towneley, now London, Br. Mus. "Found in Italy".

Walters, *Cat. Bronzes*, 259 No. 1596.

Standing person in Eastern attire; cross-legged. With his r.h. he points down a torch, which is broken off; in his l.h. a ram's head (Cautopates).

762

Statue (H. 0.41). In the South wall of the gallery of the Castle at Cataio.

Dütschke, *Bildw. Nord Italien*, V No. 437; MMM II 266 No. 112.

Standing torchbearer in Eastern attire; cross-legged. Next to him a rock at which he points his torch (Cautopates). Sorrowful expression.

763

Relief in Italian marble (H. 1.05), kept in the same gallery at Cataio.

Dütschke, V No. 569; MMM II 266 No. 113.

Standing torchbearer. He holds the torch with both hands.

764

Moreover, Dütschke (No. 440, 700) quotes two small heads (H. 0.08; 0.16) in Phrygian cap, which may belong to torchbearers.

765

When the Oldfield-Collection was transferred to the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, it contained apart from the torchbearer from Antium (see No. 205) also a small bronze arm, which certainly comes from Italy. In *AA* 1900, 114 this arm is called the arm of a Mithras-statuettes. At my visit to the Museum I have examined it and I owe fig. 206 to Dr. D. B. Harden, Keeper of the Museum. It is most certainly part of a bronze statuette, which however, does not belong to a Mithras. The arm is clothed with a *tunica manicata*, on which two stars and a *swastica* as ornaments. The position of the hand is not known to me from any of the other Mithras-representations and it cannot have held a torch. The stars do occur indeed on our monuments, but the swastika, though it is a solar emblem, is only known of one single Mithras-monument (see *Ghignen*, Vol. II) and *index*.

766

MMM II 409f No. 289; 290 mentions two very exceptional terracotta lamps, which formerly were kept in the Coll. Passeri and now probably in the Museum Olivieri at Pesaro.

1) On the front of the lamp Mithras is represented as a bullkiller (MMM II fig. 338) and on the reverse the trade-mark *Probi* between two ears.

2) The second lamp has the shape of a bull's head (MMM II fig. 339), decorated with a medallion, which connects two crossed bands. On the horns: Μέθρα ἱερός.

Dressel in *RM.* VI, 1892, 145 regards them both as forged and we are inclined to follow his judgment, especially in regard to the latter monument. Cumont remarks however, that Passeri, whose publication (*Lucernae fictiles musei Passeri*, Pisauri 1739) I have unfortunately not been able to consult, has regarded the lamp as dedicated to Artemis, because he read the inscription in a reverse order. This might prove its genuineness. But nevertheless the chance remains, that Passeri might have misinterpreted a possible forgery.

HISPANIA



HISPANIA

MALACA

767

Quadratum, litteris inconditissimis cum gutturio et patera.

CIL II 1966; MMM II No. 519.

L. Servilius Supera/tus domino invicto / donum libens ani/mo posuit / ara[m]
merenti.

ITALICA

768

White marble slab (H. 0.265 Br. 0.334 D. 0.30), found in Italica. Mus. Arq. Sevilla, Inv. No. 75.

Chicarro de Dios in *Revista de Archivos* LVI, 1950, 4 and Pl. I, 2.

Between two engraved feet an inscription:

Q(uintus) C(laudius) C. . . . / D(eo) i(nvicto) S(oli).

s(acrum) is possible too.

769

White marble relief (H. 0.31 Br. 0.35), found in Italica (Santiponce) “en la calle de Donã Saturnino” in 1923. Mus. Arq. Sevilla.

Garcia y Bellido in *AEA* 81, 1950, 367f and figs. 11–12.

Primitive engraved representation of Mithras in usual attitude and attire, slaying the bull. No further animals; no torchbearers.

770

White marble relief (H. 0.23 Br. 0.15 D. 0.10). Found in Italica, but the exact find-spot unknown. Museo arq. Sevilla, Inv. No. 828.

Garcia y Bellido in *AEA* 81, 1950, 367ff and figs. 13–16 = *Studies Robinson*, I, 776ff.

Front: bull, walking to the right.

Back: a tree, which seems to be a fig-tree.

R. side: five corns of wheat.

L. side: damaged. Vine tendrils with grapes.

The monument may be mithraic, but it seems to me, that it is possible as well to connect it with the cult of Dionysos.

CABRA

771

White marble statue (H. 0.93), found in 1952 in Fuente de la Piedras, community of Cabra (prov. Cordova). Archaeological Museum at Cordova. In the mean time fragments of Corinthian capitals and of marble columns, many tiles have been found; there must have been a Mithraeum.

Garcia y Bellido in *AEA* 1952, 389ff with Pl. (see fig. 207).

On a rocky base the usual group of Mithras slaying the bull. The god is in Eastern attire with long trousers and *tunica manicata*. Dog, serpent and scorpion.

AUGUSTA EMERITA

772

At Merida a Mithraeum existed about 155 A.D. About the character and the construction of this sanctuary, no data are known, but many monuments were discovered, all kept in the Museo arqueologico Nacional at Merida. I am very grateful to the Keeper of this Museum, Dr. Don Alvares G. de Bunagal for sending me informations and photographs.

773

White marble statue (H. 1.55), found in 1913. Mus. Merida, Inv. No. 581.

Melida in *BAH* 1914, 449 No. 7 and Pl. IV; Paris in *RA* (S. 4) XXIV, 1914, 5 No. 4 and fig. 2; *AA* 1914, 378 and fig. 53; Lantier, *Inventaire*, No. 11; Melida, *Cat. Badajoz*, No. 1083 with fig., Liañez, *Mer.*, 195; Leipoldt, XIV and fig. 28; Pidal, *Hist. Esp.*, II, 439 fig. 246; Ferri in *Scritti Nogara*, 173ff and Tav. XVIII, 1; Garcia y Bellido, *Culto*, fig. 9. See fig. 208.

Standing youth (torchbearer or Mithras himself), dressed in a tunic with splendid vaults, leans against a piece of rock, on which a dolphin with upraised tail is represented. A wide cloak, draped over his l. arm, hangs down at the back. A small remnant proves, that he wore a Phrygian cap. On his feet he wears laced boots. Head, arms and r. calf are lost. On the base an inscr.:

774

Invicto sacrum C. Curius Avitus / Acci(o) Hedychro pa(tre).

Δημήτριος ἐποίησιν.

775

Marble statue (H. 1.20), found in 1913. Mus. Merida, Inv. No. 577.

Melida in *BAH* 1914, 452 No. 10 and Pl. VI; *Cat. Badajoz*, No. 1087; Paris in *RA* (S. 4) XXIV, 1914, 5 No. 5 and fig. 3; Liañez, *Mer.*, 195f; Pidal, *Hist. Esp.*, 440, fig. 249; Garcia y Bellido, *Culto*, fig. 10. See fig. 209.

A naked youth, the upper part of whose body is covered only by a small shoulder-cape, is standing beside a tree-trunk, before which a sitting lion is represented.

The god extends his r. arm; from a fragment of the other arm it appears, that he holds a torch with his left. Parts of both arms and the r. calf are lost (torchbearer).

776

Marble statue (H. 0.87), found in 1902. Mus. Merida, Inv. No. 87.

Gomez Moreno-Pijoan, *Materiales*, Pl. XXXI, fig. 36; Leite de Vasconcellos, *Religões*, III, fig. 150; Melida in *BAH* 1914, 446f No. 3 and Pl. V; *Cat. Badajoz*, No. 1084; Paris in *RA* 1914, 6 No. 6 and fig. 4; Legge in *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* XXXVII, 1915, Pl. XIX, 4; Liañez, *Mer.*, 178f No. 87; Pidal, *Hist. Esp.*, II, 441, fig. 251; Garcia y Bellido, *Culto*, fig. 7; see fig. 210.

Aion with lion's head. To the upper part of his naked body, a pair of wings is attached. Around him a serpent is winding its way up, resting its head on the god's after the last coil round his neck. A part of the head and parts of the arms and legs have got lost.

777

Marble statue (H. 1.75), found in 1902 and 1913. Mus. Merida, Inv. No. 86.

Cumont in *CRAI* 1905, 148ff and fig.; *Revista di Archivos*, 1904, 220f; Paris in *AA* 1906, 171; RRS IV, 295 No. 6; Leite de Vasconcellos, *Religões*, III, fig. 151; Gomez Moreno, *Materiales*, Pl. XXXII, fig. 37 (all these figures without its head, which was discovered in 1913); Melida in *BAH* 1914, 450 No. 8 and Pl. V; *Cat. Badajoz*, No. 1085; Paris in *RA* XXIV, 1914, 7f No. 7 and fig. 5; Legge in *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, XXXVII, 1915, 156 and Pl. XIX, 3; Liañez, *Mer.*, 179 and fig. 60; Leipoldt, XVI and fig. 42; Pidal, *Hist. Esp.*, II, 440 and fig. 248; Garcia y Bellido, *Culto*, fig. 8. See fig. 211.

On a round pedestal, a naked Aion in rigid attitude with a curly youthful head. He is entwined by the serpent; the five coils leave the *genitalia* and the breast, on which a lion's head, uncovered. Against his l. leg a tree-trunk, with a buck's head attached to it. Also in the other leg an affixture is still visible. Both arms are broken off.

778

White marble statue (H. 0.72 Br. 1.95), found in 1902. Mus. Merida, Inv. No. 85.

Paris in *CRAI* 1904, 573; Cagnat in *Bull. Hisp.* 1904, 349; *BAH* 1903, 244 No.4; Paris in *RA* XXIV, 1914, 8f No. 8 and fig. 8; Leite de Vasconcellos, *Religões*, III, fig. 149; Melida in *BAH* 1914, 447 No. 4 and Pl. III; *Cat. Badajoz*, No. 1089; Liañez *Mer.*, 193 No. 85 and fig. 67; Pidal, *Hist. Esp.*, II, 661, fig. 455; Garcia y Bellido, *Culto*, fig. 12. See fig. 212.

Reclining Oceanus, his body wrapped in a cloak, which leaves the upper part uncovered. He leans on a damaged dolphin, on the base waving lines (water). On the stomach remnants of a *cornucopia*. On the l. thigh an inscription. Head and arms have got lost.

779

G(aius) Acc(ius) Hedychrus / p(ater) patrum.

780

Marble statue (H. 1.51), found in the Plaza de Toros in 1913. Mus. Merida, Inv. No. 580.

Paris in *AA* 1914, 377f and fig. 52; *RA* XXIV, 1914, 9f No. 9 and fig. 7; Melida in *BAH* 1914, 453 No. 11 and Pl. VII; *Cat. Badajoz*, No. 1088; Legge in *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* XXXVII, 1915, Pl. XIX, 5; Liañez, 190f No. 580 and fig. 68; Leipoldt, XIII and fig. 25; Pidal, *Hist. Esp.* II, 431 and figs. 231–232; Garcia y Bellido, *Culto*, fig. 13. See fig. 213.

A naked *Mercurius* with winged feet, sits on a large boulder, on which a cloth lies spread out. A part of his l. leg is lost. Under his l.h., which rests on the rock, a lyre, on which an inscription.

781

Ann(o) col(oniae) CLXXX / invicto deo Mithrae / sacr(um) / G(aius) Accius Hedychrus / pater / a(nimo) l(ibente) p(osuit).

155 A.D.

782

Marble relief (H. 0.36 Br. 0.70). Mus. Merida, Inv. No. 127.

Gomez Moreno, *Materiales*, Pl. XXXIV, fig. 40; Paris in *RA* XXIV, 1914, 10 No. 10 and fig. 8; Melida, *Cat. Badajoz*, No. 1096; Pidal, *Hist. Esp.*, II, 442 and fig. 252. See fig. 214.

Three persons, reclining at table, on which a plate with food (bread and meat?). On either side a person is standing, dressed in a long cloak. A third person approaches from the left, also in a long cloak, carrying a plate in both hands, on which a bull's head. Behind him a representation of Mithras' rock-birth. The god holds his arms spread out. The heads of all figures are damaged.

783

Marble head (H. 0.30), found in 1902. Mus. Merida, Inv. No. 84.

Paris in *RA* XXIV, 1914, 11 No. 11 and fig. 9; Leite de Vasconcellos, *Religões*, III, fig. 154; Melida in *BAH* 1914, 445 No. 1 and Pl. II; *Cat. Badajoz*, No. 1081; Liañez, *Mer.*, 187 No. 84 and fig. 65; Pidal, *Hist. Esp.* II 437 and fig. 242; Garcia y Bellido, *Culto*, fig. 20. See fig. 215.

Head of Serapis with long, wavy hair and beard. Round the hair a fillet. The head is flat on top and therefore must have carried a *modius*.

784

Marble statue (H. 1.35), found in 1902. Mus. Merida, Inv. No. 88.

Paris in *RA* XXIV, 1914, 12f, No. 13 and fig. 10; Gomez Moreno, *Materiales*,

Pl. XXIII, fig. 23; Leite de Vasconcellos, *Religiões*, III, fig. 133; Melida in *BAH* 1914, 448 No. 5 and Pl. VIII; Liañez, 183f, No. 88 and fig. 62; Pidal, *Hist. Esp.* II, 432 and fig. 233; Garcia y Bellido, *Culto*, fig. 16. See fig. 216.

Standing Venus *pudica* with hanging-down hair. A cloth, draped over her l. arm, covers her r. leg. Beside her l. foot a little Amor on a dolphin; her r. arm, which was raised is broken off; head lost.

785

Marble statuette (H. 0.36). Mus. Merida.

Paris in *RA* XXIV, 1914, 13 No. 14; Melida in *BAH* 1914, 455 No. 14 and Pl. IX; *Cat. Badajoz*, No. 1091.

Standing, naked Venus, covering her breasts with a piece of cloth. Heads, arms and legs have got lost. According to Paris, the statuette seems to have been damaged by fire.

786

Marble statue (H. 1.20), found in 1902. Mus. Merida, Inv. No. 120.

Paris in *RA* XXIV, 1914, 14f No. 15 and fig. 11; Melida in *BAH* 1914, 448 No. 6 and Pl. V; *Cat. Badajoz*, No. 1092; Pidal, *Hist. Esp.* II, 433 and fig. 234; Garcia y Bellido, *Culto*, fig. 14.

Standing male person, dressed in a folded garment, which leaves the breast uncovered. Head, hands and feet are missing. Paris sees a snake in one of the folds (*Aesculapius*?).

787

Marble statuette (H. 0.52), found in 1902.

Paris in *RA* XXIV, 1914, 15 No. 16; Melida in *BAH* 1914, 446 No. 2; *Cat. Badajoz*, No. 1082.

Statuette of a sitting god. Head, arms and feet are lost (Jupiter-Serapis?).

788

Marble statue (H. 1.34).

Paris in *RA* XXIV, 1914, 15 No. 17; Melida in *BAH* 1914, 452, No. 9 and Pl. VI; Pidal, *Hist. Esp.* II, 440 and fig. 247; Garcia y Bellido, *Culto*, fig. 15.

Standing dressed male person, whose r. leg leans against a tree-trunk. The l. leg rests on a marble base and stands somewhat before the other. The r. arm is upraised, in his left traces of a lance or trident (Poseidon?). Head and l. leg as far as the thigh are broken off.

789

Marble statue (H. 1.58). Mus. Merida, Inv. No. 578.

Paris in *RA* XXIV, 1914, 15f No. 18 and fig. 12; Melida in *BAH* 1914, 454 No. 12 and Pl. IV; *Cat. Badajoz*, No. 1093; Garcia y Bellido, *Culto*, fig. 11.

Standing woman in long *chiton*. Head lost.

790

Marble statue (H. 1.48). Mus. Merida, Inv. No. 574.

Paris in *RA* XXIV, 1914, 16 No. 19; Melida in *BAH* 1914, 454 No. 13; *Cat. Badajoz*, No. 1094.

Standing woman in long *chiton*. Head lost.

791

We still have to mention a naked foot beside the remnants of a tree-trunk (Inv. No. 576) and remnants of a marble seat or table, on which an acanthus-leaf, with the head and neck of a lion emerging out of it (Melida, *Cat. Badajoz*, Nos. 1086 and 1095).

792

Inscr. on marble fragment (H. 0.05 Br. 0.18).

Melida, *Cat. Badajoz* 203 No. 763.

L.H. 0.04.

(S)arapi(s) . . .

793

Inscr. on a greyish marble altar (H. 0.57); on the sides a *patera*.

Cat. Badajoz, 204 No. 764. Paris in *CRAI* 1904, 575 No. 4; Liañez, *Mer.*, 175f No. 188.

L.H. 0.04–0.03.

Ann(o) col(oniae) CLXXX / aram genesis / invicti Mithrae / M(arcus) Val(erius) Secundus / fr(umentarius) leg(ionis) VII gem(inae) dono / ponendam merito curavit / G(aio) Accio Hedythro patre.

155 A.D.

794

Inscr. on white marble altar (H. 0.22).

Cat. Bad., 205 No. 765.

L.H. 0.02.

Invicto deo / Quinti C(enturiae) Flavi / Baetici Conim/brig(ensis) ser(vi) / pro sa(lute) Coutii Lupi.

795

Inscr. on white marble altar (Inv. 156) (H. 0.16).

Cat. Bad., 205s. No. 766.

L.H. 0.02.

Deo / invicto / pro salute / Firmus.

796

White marble altar (H. 0.27). San Albin.

Melida, *Cat. Badajoz*, 206 No. 767.

Deo / invicto / C(aius) Aemilius / Superai[us] / a(nimo) l(ibens) p(osuit).

797

Base of a statue.

CIL II 464; MMM II No. 512.

Caute / Tib(erius) Cl(audius) / Artemidoru[s] / p(ater?).

p(ater): or simple *p(osuit)*.

CAETOBRIGA

798

Relief, broken in four pieces, found at Troja near Setubal. Museo Etnologico in Lisbon.

Mendes da Costa in *Arch. Port.*, XXIX, 1930–1931, 5ff and fig. 26; Pidal, *Hist. Esp.* II, 441 and fig. 250; Cumont in *CRAI* 1934, 262; *RA* 1946, 191 and fig. 4; Jalhay in *Broteria*, XLVI, 1948, 529ff and figs. 3–4. See fig. 217, which we received from Franz Cumont.

A scene of Mithras tauroctone, of which only the foreleg of the bull and a torch-bearer in Eastern attire before it are preserved. The torch is pointed downwards; not cross-legged (*Cautopates*). In the r. upper corner, above a vaulting, the dressed bust of Luna with crescent behind her shoulders. Beside it, separated from it by a vertical rim a representation of Mithras and Sol reclining at table. Mithras in Eastern attire holds a *rhyton* in his right, just as his fellow-guest, but he holds his r.h. behind Sol's shoulders, who is recognizable by his aureole and crown with seven rays. The latter extends his r.h. to a servant, who offers a plate with two loaves(?). The burning torch of the servant lies on the ground beside a *krater* with two ears, against which a serpent is winding its way up in order to drink out of it. A second servant, dressed in Eastern attire as his companion, points his torch downwards with his l.h. and with the other he is about to empty the contents of a vase into the *krater*.

OLISIPO

799

Great *cippus* from Lissabon.

CIL II 258; MMM II No. 516.

Soli et Lunae / Cestius Acidius / Perennis / leg(atus) Aug(usti) pr(o)pr(aetore) / provinciae Lusitaniae.

800

CIL II 259; MMM II No. 517.

Soli aeterno / Lunae / pro aeternitate im/peri et salute imp(eratoris) Ca[esaris L.] / Septimii Severi aug(usti) pii et / [imp(eratoris)] Caes(aris) M. Aureli Antonini /

aug(usti) pii [et P. Septimi Getae nob(ilissimi)] / Caes(aris) et [Iu]liae Aug(ustae)
matris c[a]s[tr(orum)] / Drusus Valer(ius) Coelianus / . . . usi [leg(atus?)] Augusto-
rum / cumu . . . suale . . . ni . . . sua et / Q. Iulius Satur. Q. Val . . . et Antonius.

l. 10–13: curam ag(ente) Valerio Quadrato Q. Iulius Saturninus et Q. Valerius Antonianus (Hübner).

CAPERA

801

Square stone from La Oliva.

CIL II 807; MMM II No. 518.

Soli / invict(o) / aug(usto) / sacrum.

IRIA FLAVIA

802

Altar found in 1889 at Caldas de Reyes.

CIL II 5635; MMM II No. 513.

Cau/ti / [A]nto[nius]?

SAN JUAN

803

Altar (H. 0.76 Br. 0.22) from San Juan de Isla.

CIL II 2705–5728; MMM II No. 514.

Ponit in/victo deo / austro po/nit lebien/s Fronto /
aram invi/cto deo au/sto [F(ronto)] leven/s ponit
pre/sedente pa/trem patra/tum leone/m.

austro: according to Mommsen a barbarian form for *augusto*. This opinion is to be preferred to that of who proposes: *lauto*.

presedente etc: “il est certain qu’il y a là un solécisme pour *presedente patre patrato leone*” (Paris in *RA* 1914, 18 n. 2).

ASTURICA

804

CIL II 2634; MMM II No. 522.

Signa militaria tria, mediae duae. Underneath this representation:

I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo) / Soli invicto Libero / patri genio praetor(ii) / Q. Mamil(ius) Capitolinus / iurid(icus) per Flaminiam / et Umbriam et Picenum / leg(atus) Aug(usti) per Asturiam et / Gallaeciam dux leg(ionis) VII [g(eminæ)] p(iae) [f(elicis)] / praef(ectus) aer(arii) Sat(urni) pro salute / sua et suorum.

BAETULO

805

Altar “in colle oppido imminenti exarata in rupe orienti opposita” at Badalona.

CIL II 4604; MMM II No. 524.

Soli d(eo) sacrum / A. P(ompeius) Abascantus.

TARRACO

806

Two fragments of a small altar from Tarrago.

CIL II 4086; MMM II No. 515.

[Invi]cto Mithra[e] / ... (duo)vi[r] / ...cime / ...nn XV.

THIRMARUM

807

Slab in sandstone (H. 0.67), found along the border of the Tagus. Thirmarum (Trillo) lies on a distance of two miles from Cifuentes (Province of Guadalajara).

CIL II 6308; MMM II No. 523.

Sol(i) aug(usto) v(otum) / Dio G(ai) lib(ertus) / s(olvit) l(ibens).

BRITANNIA



BRITANNIA

BURHAM

808

An underground room, discovered between Wouldham and Burham old church on the East side of the Medway (1894).

Lang in *PSASc* XXIX, 1895, 204; Payne-James in *PSAL* (S. 2), XVI, 1897, 105ff with fig.

The vaulted cave (H. 4.70 Br. 7.50 D. 4.70), hewn out in the rock, is of an elliptic design. In it a room was constructed of limestone, the entrance (H. 4.20 Br. 3.60) of which is situated on the East side. Behind this entrance a passage has been made in zigzag-fashion by means of two small limestone walls.

In the back-wall, there are three niches side by side, whereas in the North side-wall a long, narrow opening had been made, through which the light could enter. In the floor of this room a well rises.

These data have created the impression, that here at Burham a Mithras-sanctuary should have been found. In that case the niches in the back-wall should have contained the reliefs. Also the existence of the well is in favour of this theory. But no single find has been made, which could have given a definite solution. Later on the room was filled up with all kinds of refuse. Among other thing, bones of horses, oxen, deer, swine and sheep were found, together with many fragments of Roman pottery.

ISCA

809

Ara rotunda fracta, alta ped. 3 dig. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ litteris bonis puto secundi exeuntis.

CIL VII 99; MMM II No. 472.

[Deo in]victo / [Mi]thrae / ...s Iustus / c[(enturio) leg]ionis II aug(ustae) / [l(ibens)] m(erito) f(ecit).

invicto: interpretation by R. P. Wright who is preparing a new work "The Roman Inscriptions of Britain", and was willing to supply us with the most accurate information regarding the Mithras-inscriptions.

LONDINIUM

810

White marble relief (H. 0.38 Br. 0.55 D. 0.08), found together with the Nos 812 and 813 in London's City near Walbrook (1889). At first in the Coll. F. Ransom at Hitchin; from 1915 in the London Museum, Inv. No. A 16933.

MMM II 389f No. 267a and fig. 304; Hinks in Bruton, *Fort Manch.*, Pl. 15; Haverfield in *Archaeologia* LX, 1906, 43ff and fig.; *Cat. Rom. Brit. Sculpt.*,

fig. 12; *JRS* 1911, 163 and Pl. XXIV, 1; *RRR* II, 450, 2; *MM*, 111 fig. 4; Wheeler, *Rom. London*, 170 No. 2 and Pl. X; *London Rom. Times*, 45, Pl. XVII; Saxl, fig. 141; Collingwood, *Rom. Brit.*, 6; fig. 55. Fig. 218, received from Dr W. F. Grimes, Keeper of the London Museum.

In the middle of the relief the representation of Mithras tauroctone. A part of the god's flying cloak with the raven are lost. The dog and the serpent with their heads near the wound; the scorpion at the testicles. On either side a torchbearer: Cautes (l) and Cautopates (r).

This main scene is surrounded by a broad circle, in which the signs of the Zodiac. Beginning at Cautes' feet we see subsequently: Scorpio-Virgo-Leo-Cancer-Gemini-Taurus-Aries-Pisces-Aquarius-Capricornus-Sagittarius.

In the upper corners on the left Sol's *quadriga* driving upwards (damaged), and on the right Luna's *biga*, drawn by two bulls. Luna's head has got lost.

In the lower corners the naked busts of two Winds, both with long hair and with two wings on their foreheads. The left is bearded, the r. one is more youthful.

Between the figures in the corners an inscription:

811

MMM II No. 471.

Ulpus Silvanus / factus Arausione / emeritus leg(ionis) II aug(ustae) / votum solvit.

812

White marble statue (H. 0.53–0.59 with base, Br. 0.25). London Museum, Inv. No. A 16932.

MMM II 390c and fig. 306; Wheeler, *London Rom. Times*, l.c. See fig. 219.

Standing person in long, hanging cloak, which leaves the upper part of the body uncovered. Beside his l. foot the stem of a ship, floating on the waves. With his l.h., which rests on a support he holds a *cornucopia* against his shoulder. With the other hand he holds a *patera* above a burning altar, from the back of which a serpent arises, entwining itself round the god's arm and then disappearing again behind the altar (Bonus Eventus).

813

Fragment of a white marble statue (H. 0.35 Br. 0.27). London Museum, Inv. No. A 16931.

MMM II 390 No. 267b and fig. 305; Haverfield in *Archaeologia*, 1906, 43ff and Pl.; Wheeler, *London Rom. Times*, l.c.; Collingwood, *Rom. Brit.*, fig. 49. See fig. 220.

Part of a reclining person with long hair and beard. Only the naked torso has been preserved. The end of a staff, which he held in his l.h., is visible near his shoulder (Oceanus).

As Cumont remarked already, these monuments were definitely imported from Gallia or Italy via the Thames, judging from the execution and the material. Moreover sherds of red "Samian-pottery" were found at the same time.

F. Haverfield, however, assumes, that the Mithraic relief is a home-product (*JRS* 1911, 163); according to Collingwood (*Rom. Brit.*) the Oceanus at least was imported.

Probably these finds belong to the Mithraeum, which in September 1954 was discovered and of which we give a preliminary description in the Nos. 814–826.

814

In *ILN* 2; 9; 16 Oct. 1954 W. F. Grimes gives a survey of the results of the discovery of a Mithraeum in London at Walbrook near the Mansion house (fig. *ILN* 1954, 543 and the reconstruction-drawings on pp 594–595; 534–535).

The temple is lying in the valley of the Walbrook stream and has an overall length of some 60 ft. and a width of about 25 ft. "The temple is well built, its chief material being Kentish ragstone, with levelling or bonding courses of tile. A feature of its construction is the massive character of the west end, with a square buttress on the crest of the apse and massive semicircular buttresses flanking it. There is some suggestion, yet to be confirmed, that some or all of these buttresses are afterthoughts added at an early stage while the building was being erected. Their presence is indicative of the unstable nature of the surrounding ground.

The entrance of the temple was at the east end. Flanking the doorway to the south is a small annexe, apparently a later addition. Probably a short flight of steps leads to the floor of the sunken central nave.

The nave, 11 ft. wide, runs the length of the building, from the entrance to the opening of the apse, the floor of which was raised high above those of the body of the temple as first designed. The nave is flanked by steeper walls, which not only carried stone columns separating it from the side aisles, but also supported and revetted the floors of the aisles. Timber had been extensively used in the aisle floors which served as benches upon which the worshippers reclined. A feature of the steeper walls is the concrete setlings upon which the pillars were erected: there were seven in all, spaced approximately 6 ft. apart, their diameters varying between 18 and 20 ins.

The floor of the semicircular apse was raised nearly 3 ft. above the original floor of the nave. The apse seems to have been given a somewhat elaborate architectural treatment. That the opening of the apse had some form of division by columns is suggested both by certain remaining features and by a fragment of a comparatively slight column, which would appear not to have fitted anywhere else. A series of four shallow holes against the back wall of the apse is a feature which gives rise to some speculation. They may have held the supports for some kind of screen or reredos, or perhaps had something to do with the lightning arrangements.

A further interesting structure was a timber-lined well in the south-west corner of the south aisle. It was about 2 ft. deep and a little over 3 ft. square and its walls were in excellent condition.

This was the temple as it would have appeared in the early years of its existence.

As time went on various structural changes were made, e.o. the steady raising of the general floor-level. A date after 150 A.D. seems most probable for its erection; its story goes into the fourth century (coin of Constantine the Great). But by this time the temple must have become a shadow of its former self: already some part of its equipment of sacred images had been buried beneath its later floors in circumstances which are still obscure. Its interior, too, had been drastically remodelled, and it must have been re-roofed: the floor of the nave was now level with that of the apse; the stone columns had been removed and had either been replaced by an arrangement of timbers or had given way to a simple chamber with no distinction between nave and aisles. Building débris on the last floor shows that it must have been allowed to fall into disuse at a time when it was still more or less isolated in its marshy surroundings- a time when already the last years of the Roman occupation must have been approaching" (Grimes).

815

Marble head of Mithras in Phrygian cap (*ILN* 1954, 542).

816

Lower part of a relief. Cautopates pointing his torch downwards. Cross-legged (*ILN*, 542).

817

The torso of a male figure, in marble, flattened at the back, perhaps one of the attendant deities of Mithras. The complete height would be about 2 ft. and it probably stood in an eastern end porch (*ILN*, 542).

818

Large marble head of Sarapis with *modius*, decorated with stylised olive-branches (*ILN*, 637). In the same time a colossal right hand holding a part of a stick (oar?) was found (*ILN*, 636).

Cf. the finds in the Mithraeum of S. Prisca on the Aventine in 1954 (No. 478) and Vermaseren in *Numen* II, 1955, 139ff.

819

Fragment of a circular plaque showing the Danubian horsemen and leaping dogs (*ILN*, 542).

820

Marble head of a woman (H. 12 ins.), originally crowned with a diadem (*ILN*, 542; 636).

821

A small marble statuette. Naked Mercury sitting on a rock. In the hair of his

head are the stumps of wings, in his l.h. is a purse, beside the forefeet of a ram, which is lying down at the god's feet, is a tortoise (*ILN*, 636).

822

"Small marble group which shows the god Dionysus reaching up to a vine; on the left is Silenus on a donkey, and, above, on the tree-trunk, the leg of a goat; to the right of Dionysus is a satyr; and, further right, a maenad carrying a wine-vessel, with a leopard at her feet" (Grimes in *ILN*, 636).

The base carries an inscription:

823

Hominibus bagisbitam

bagisbitam: may be *vagis vitam* "thou givest life to men".

824

A sandstone bowl (*ILN* 636); a large part of a stone laver, or washing bowl (*ILN*, 542).

825

Marble fragment with an inscription in a *tabula ansata* (*ILN* 1954, 636).

[Au]gggg(ustis)/.... invicto/.... ad/.... enem.

826

Marble fragment with an inscription (*ILN* 1954, 636).

u.... / [Bri]tanniae/.... [vic]toriam/.... am.

VERULAMIUM

827

Round silver *denarius* of Augustus (diam. 0.022; w. 2.38 gr.), found in St. Albans under the walls of the building IV, 1, dating from the second half of the sec. cent. A.D. Verulamium Museum.

Mattingly in *Num. Chron.* (S. V) XII, 1932, 54ff with fig.; Wheeler, *Verulamium*, 211ff No. 8 and Pl. LXVI; Corder, *Ver. Mus.*, 17 and fig. 10. See fig. 221.

"A silver *denarius* of Augustus, the reverse of which bore the figure of Tarpeia overwhelmed by the Sabine shield, had had its legend smoothed away. In place of the obverse a fresh inscription had been incised: MIΘRAC ΩROMASDHC, around a circle, and ΦRHN across the centre, the representation of Tarpeia being left to depict the birth of Mithras from the rocks."

828

In the Verulamium Museum is a Castor-vase (H. 0.21) which was discovered

in a public building (*insula* XVII) opposite the Theatre (*cf.* K. M. Richardson in *Archaeologia*, XC, 1944, 121).

On the vase with barbotine-decoration, three persons are represented:

1) The naked lower part of a man's body with a lion's-hide over his arm (Hercules).

2) The naked lower part of a man's body with winged feet (Mercurius).

3) Man walking to the right in Phrygian cap and with a bow in his r.h. Dressed in a short tunic, on which seven stars are visible at the bottom. On his breast two cross-wise belts. If the person, as assumed, would indeed represent Mithras, then it can only be an unusual representation of Mithras as an archer.

CAMULODUNUM

829

Remnants of a Mithraeum, discovered for a second time (1929) East of the temple dedicated to Claudius. Formerly (1853) explained as a water-basin.

Hull in *ILN* 24 May, 1930, 936 with plan and reconstruction. I am very grateful to Dr M. R. Hull, Curator of the Colchester and Essex Museum, who was so kind to explain me the terrain and to give me perusal of his still unpublished reports. See fig. 222.

New excavations have made it possible to draw up a ground-plan. The underground sanctuary *A* is preceded by a higher (2.00), overground room *D*, a pseudoporticus accessible on the E.-side by an entrance. Along a narrow corridor, past several apartments one arrives at another entrance (Br. 1.43), which leads to a flight of stairs, which give access to the actual sanctuary. This is enclosed by heavy (1.00) brick walls, parts of which are still erect on the S.-side.

The room, which is twice as long as broad (L. 13.00 Br. 6.50) is divided into three parts: the central aisle, in which still footsteps are visible, and the two side-benches with elevations against the back-wall. These were made of wood as is clear from traces of wooden beams, which are visible in the small gutters (Br. 0.25 D. 0.20), which were made in the floor on a distance of 1.57 from the walls.

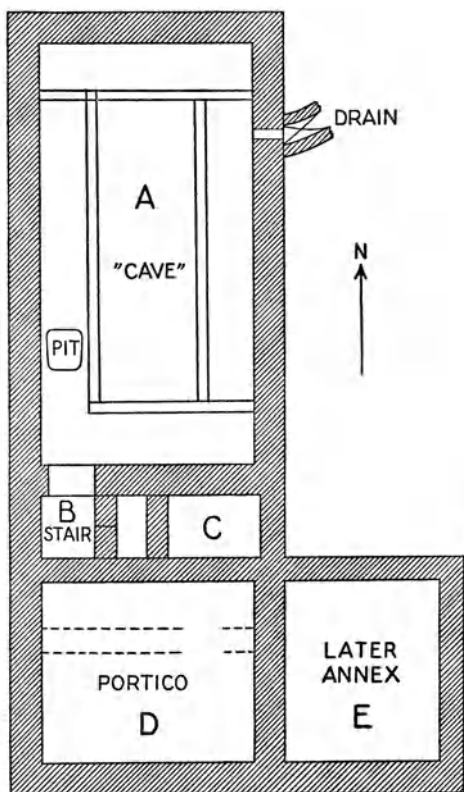


Fig. 222.

Near the N.-wall, approximately in the middle, an isosceles triangle has been hewn out (base 0.42; sides 0.30). Under the stairs is a well, of which the richly flowing water is checked by a small dam. But sufficient water passes through it to fill a square cement pit (Br. 1.00 D. 0.66) in front of the well. Excess water is lead away through a square hole (Br. 0.22) in the N.W.-corner. This communicates with the sewerage of the town.

No cult-objects have been preserved, but the room was full of pottery for the greater part refuse from the fourth cent., which judging from its position must have been thrown over the walls.

Of the few entire pieces, we mention only a sieve of grey material. Moreover a skeleton was found.

The exact date is hard to define. The coins date from Trajanus to Valens or Valentinianus. Numerous are the coins of the Tetrici (about 270), whereas a coin of Constans as Augustus, found in the under layer, may point to the possibility, that the Mithraeum was still in use in the period of 337–350. The date of building is rather early, according to the other coins. The walls however, date from the same time as the rempart, the date of which is most probably the second cent. according to Hull. But this is a vexed question.

DEVA

830

Small stone statue, found at Chester in 1853 "built into a cellar wall in "White Friars" ". Still seen in Chester by Stukeley in 1725, when being in the possession of Mr. Pescot. Now lost; dimension unknown.

Watkins, *Rom. Chesh.*, 191; Pannant, *Tour Wales*, I, 116; Horsley, *Brit. Rom.*, 316 No. V and Pl. 67, V; Stukeley, *Pal. Brit.*, III, 1752, 33; MMM II 390f No. 268; Haverfield, *Cat. Grosv. Mus.*, 78f No. 169 with fig.

Standing torchbearer in Eastern attire and cross-legged. With both hands he holds a torch downwards.

831

Stone relief (H. 0.65 Br. 0.265 D. 0.21). Chester, Grosvenor Museum. Together with the preceding No.

Watkins, *Rom. Chesh.*, 191; MMM II 391 No. 269a and fig. 307; Haverfield, *Cat. Grosv. Mus.*, 78f No. 169.

Torchbearer in Eastern attire, cross-legged. With his r.h. he points the torch downwards.

832

Marble relief (H. 0.725 Br. 0.35 D. 0.225), found in Chester "built up in an adjoining hall "White Friars" in 1851". Chester, Grosvenor Mus.

Watkins, *Rom. Chesh.*, 192; MMM II No. 269b and fig. 308; Haverfield, *Cat. Grosv. Mus.*, 80 No. 170 and fig.

Standing dressed figure with a sheep-hook in his l.h.; in the r.h. a torch(?) pointing downwards.

If the monument represents a torchbearer, then it could have belonged to the inventory of the same sanctuary. Remnants of a building with columns should have been discovered here (Cumont).

EBURACUM

833

Statue in sandstone (H. 0.61), found in York (1875). Yorkshire, Philosophical Society.

Hübner in *JVA* LVIII, 1876, 147ff and Pl. VIII, 1; MMM II 392 No. 271 and fig. 310.

On a base a standing, naked figure, dressed in a fringed loin-cloth, which is held together by a snakelike belt. In his hanging l.h. two keys, whereas the other, which is broken off as far as the elbow, must have held a sceptre, part of which is still visible on the edge of the stone, together with an undefinable object (thunder-bolt?), half of which is preserved on the fringes. To his shoulders two wings are attached. Head lost. On the base, in a *tabula ansata*, an inscription:

834

MMM II No. 474.

D(eo) . . . / Vol(usii) Ire[naeus et] / Arimaniu[s posuerunt].

835

Relief in white limestone (dolomite) (H. 0.68 Br. 0.60 D. 0.10). Yorkshire Philosophical Society. Found in York "in digging the foundation of a large house in Mickelgate" (Browning) in 1747.

Browning, *Gent. Mag.*, 102; Stukeley in *Phil. Trans.* XLVI, 1750, 214; *Pal. Brit.* III (frontispiece); Camden, *Britannia* (ed. Gough), III, Pl. III fig. 8 and p. 62; Wellbeloved, *Eburacum*, 80ff and Pl. IX, fig. 1; MMM II 391f No. 270 and fig. 309; Hinks in Bruton, *Fort Manch.*, Pl. 16.

A weathered representation of Mithras tauroctone in the usual attitude and attire. No animals. On either side a torchbearer. Next to Mithras' head the bust of Sol (l) in radiate crown, and of Luna (r) in crescent.

Under the bullkilling are three other scenes side by side:

1) Standing person lays his hands upon a person, who squats before him and extends his hands towards the former's thighs (Mithras and Sol).

2) Two persons side by side reclining at table on a couch, which, judging by parallel stripes, is covered with a piece of cloth or bull's hide (Sol and Mithras at the repast).

3) Sol in a chariot, drawn by one horse, helps Mithras ascend.

LONGOVICIUM

836

Arula alta ped. 1, lata dig. 7. Lanchester.

CIL VII 1344c; MMM II No. 473.

Deo M(ithrae) / C(auto)p(ati) S(oli) i(nvicto).

CIL VII 650; MMM II 484 is an erroneous duplication of the above (Wright). "I am not yet fully convinced that it is a Mithraic inscription".

837

Ara parva.

CIL VII 434; MMM II 487.

Deo invi[cto] / votum / v. . . siov.

On the l. side a boar.

VINDOBALA

838

A Mithraeum, discovered in Rudchester in 1844 "on the brow of the hill outside the south west angle of the (roman) station" (Bruce).

Hodgson in *Arch. Ael.* IV, 1846, 6ff; Surridge, *Notice of Roman inscriptions discovered at Rudchester*, Newcastle 1853, 25; Bruce, *Roman Wall*, 127ff; *Lap. Sept.*, 42ff; MMM II 392f No. 272; Richmond in *Durham University Journal*, XXXVI, 1943, 6; J. Toynbee in *JRS* XLIV, 1954, 88 and fig. 11.

"The sanctuary was rediscovered 150 yds. outside the south-western angle of the fort, and excavated by Messrs. J. P. Gillam and I. MacIvor. The shrine was built on the original surface of the ground, and oriented to the north-west. The nave is rectangular, 42 ft. long and 26 ft. wide, with a shallow segmental apse at the north-western end; a doorway in the centre of the south-eastern wall leads into the nave from an asymmetrically planned external narthex. Along almost the whole length of the nave, on each side of a central alley 10 ft. wide, are raised couches or benches, 6 ft. wide, revetted at the front with stone. Nave and narthex were built together early in the third century on ground that had been occupied by earlier structures, including a large filled pit. Consolidation of the filling in the course of the century brought about the partial collapse of the south-eastern end of the shrine. The nave, subsequently reconstructed without an external narthex, continued to function as a shrine until its final desecration in the first half of the fourth century". Close to the spot, where it was situated, there must have been a spring and a few yards more Eastward a basin, hewn out in the rock. This basin (L. 3.66 Br. 1.22 D. 0.61) has "a hole close to the bottom at one end". Part of it was made of brickwork and on its discovery it contained bones and "an iron implement described as a three-footed candlestick" (Bruce). This Mithraeum supplied us with four altars, which are at the Blackgate Museum (Nos 839-843).

839

Altar (H. 1.25 Br. 0.46).

Apart from the bibl. in MMM II 393 No. 272*b* and fig. 311; *Northumberland County History* XII, 38; Askew in *Durham University Journal*, XXX, 1938, 3 (Prof. Wright was so kind to draw my attention to this article, which, however, I was not able to consult).

The front part of the shaft is decorated with a crown, decorated with three *vittae*. In it the letters DEO with an inscription No. 840 below it. The whole is surrounded by two palm-branches. On the badly damaged capital a representation of Mithras' rock-birth, according to Askew.

On the front of the die, between two columns, a naked person to the left, walking beside a bull and holding its horns. On the r. side three daggers and in the upper l. side of the altar a bull's head.

840

CIL VII 544; MMM II No. 478.

Deo / L. Sentius / Castus / leg(ionis) VI d(onum) p(osuit).

841

CIL VII 541; MMM II No. 475.

According to Prof. Wright, to whom I am very much indebted for his informations, "it has four small foci on the top of the capital in addition to the usual large focus". Blackgate Museum (*Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne* (S. 4) V, 1931, 149).

Deo invicto / Mytrae P. Ael(ius) Ti[t]ullus prae(fectus) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) l(aetus) m(erito).

Titullus as Haverfield, not *Flav(i)nus* as Huebner, Cumont (Wright).

842

CIL VII 542; MMM II No. 476.

Deo Soli invic(to) / Tib. Cl(audius) Decimus / Cornel(ia) Anto(nius) praef(ectus) / templ(um) restit(uit).

843

CIL VII 543; MMM II No. 477.

Soli / Apollini / aniceto / . . ilc. / tidiv. . . / . . . /.

PROCOLITIA

844

A Mithraeum, discovered 80 yards S. of the S.W.-angle of Carrawburgh Fort, situated W. of 31 milecastle and 4 miles W. of the North Tyne at Chollerford.

Richmond in *ILN* 1951, 454ff; Richmond-Gillam, *Temple Carrawburgh*, 1951,

1-44; *JRS* XLI, 1951, 122f, the description of which I reprint here. See fig. 223 (from Richmond-Gillam, fig. 7).

"The temple of Mithras was excavated by I. A. Richmond and J. P. Gillam, disclosing three main stages of development, the second exhibiting two reconstructions. The earliest shrine was a small one, and had been deliberately dismantled. It contained the usual anteroom and nave with raised couches or benches at each side, and a *daïs* for altars at the far end. In front of the altars lay a ritual hearth, fed with special fuel made from Mediterranean pinecones. Meals or sacrifices were represented by bones of young pigs, lambs or goats. The building was next enlarged, with bigger sanctuary, longer side-benches, and statues of *Cautes* and *Cautopates*. The first refurbishing of this shrine was more elaborate still. An ordeal pit was provided close to the ritual hearth in the anteroom, and the floor of the nave was covered with heather for silence and comfort. To this period belongs a fine wrought-iron altar-shovel, found on top of the contemporary side-bench. The second refurbishing was particularly interesting for its woodwork. Much was preserved in the earlier periods, but these remains were buried after destruction. The base of the wattle-work screen between anteroom and nave and the wattle revetting of the benches were exceptionally well preserved, together with the upright posts for furnishings in the sanctuary and board-flooring set in clay.

When the second shrine was destroyed in A.D. 296-7, the stone furnishings of its sanctuary remained undamaged and were used again in the third building, which was found almost as its final destroyers left it. Three fine altars stood in the sanctuary, one with a notable relief of Mithras with radiate crown pierced for illumination. Below the altars a ritual pit contained a thin cup and a beaker with

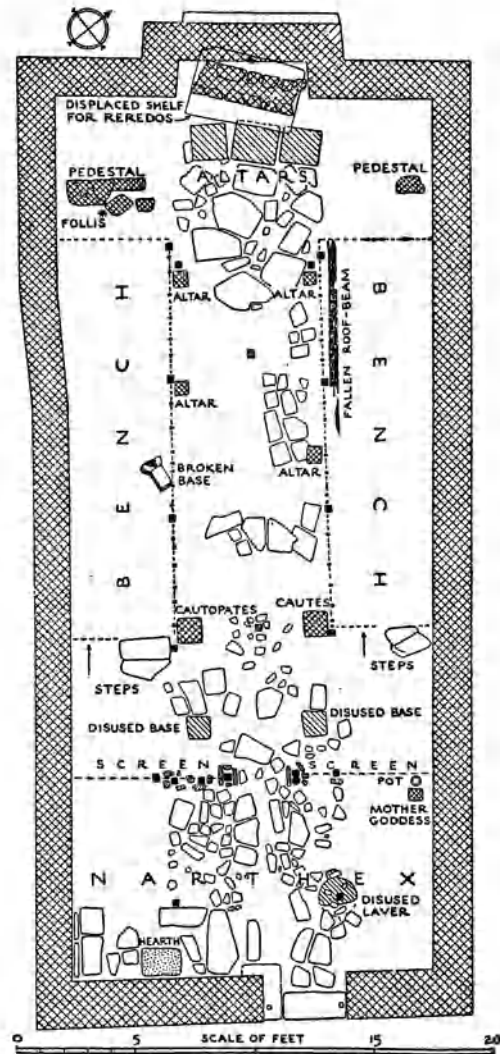


Fig. 223.

the skull of a fowl in it. Four little altars lay along the edge of the side-benches. The statues of Cautopates and Cautes had, however, been deliberately destroyed or disfigured and the relief of the bull-killing, forming a reredos in the sanctuary, had been removed, leaving only one broken fragment behind. There were also other traces of deliberate desecration. After this the building was left to decay and on becoming filled with peat began to collapse. One of its roof-beams was found among the ruins."

845

Altar in sandstone (H. 1.17 Br. 0.53). The capital with focus and bolsters.

JRS XL, 1950, 114f and Pl. XIII; Richmond-Gillam, 48f and Pl. XI, A; *ILN* 1951, 455.

Deo inv(icto) M(ithrae) / L(ucius) Antonius / Proculus / Praef(ectus) coh(ortis) I Bat(avorum) / Antoninianae / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

Antoninianae: between 212–222 A.D.

846

Altar in sandstone (H. 1.07 Br. 0.47).

ILN 1951, 455; Richmond-Gillam, 45ff and Pl. XI, A.

D(eo) in(victo) M(ithrae) s(acrum) / Aul(us) Cluentius / Habitus pra(e)f(ectus) / coh(ortis) I / Batavorum / domu Ulti/n(i)a Colon(ia) / Sept(imia) Aur(elia) L(arino) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

On either side of *Coh.* I an ivy-leaf.

The dedicator belongs to the family of Aulus Cluentius Habitus, defended by Cicero in 66 B.C.

As appears from this inscription, Larinum became a *colonia* between 198–208 A.D. (E. Birley).

847

Altar in sandstone (H. 1.24 Br. 0.46).

ILN 1951, 455; Richmond-Gillam, Pl. XII, B.

"The sides of the die are plain, the top of the capital flat; its face has four leaves with a trisceles in the centre. A cavity 10 ins. wide has been cut at the back of the capital to carry a lamp. On the upper part of the die in low relief is the upper part of Mithras facing front, with arms set at his waist, as he rises from the rock. His cloak covers his body and l. arm; in his r.h. he holds a whip. His head is framed by a panel of ornament, and the rays of his crown are formed by pierced openings through which a lamp, placed in the cavity could throw light. The god's cloak and hair and the inscribed letters retain their red paint, and the panel of ornament has red paint alternating with some other colour, which has worn away" (*JRS* 1951). It has the following inscr.:

848

Deo invicto / Mithrae M(arcus) Sim(plicius) Simplex / pr(a)ef(ectus) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

After *Deo* an ivy-leaf; after *invicto* a palmbranch.

It seems to me, that we have a representation of *Sol*: cf. Ostia: No. 267.

For bearers of the name M. Simplicius, see: Birley in Richmond-Gillam, 49ff who points at some inscriptions dedicated to the goddess *Vagdavercustis*. "The weight of evidence points to Lower Germany, and we shall not be far wrong in supposing that the prefect of Carrawburgh looked on V. as his patron goddess, when he was not preoccupied with the worship of Mithras".

849

ILN 1951, 455; Richmond-Gillam, 32 and Pl. X, B.

"Within the nave ever-rising floor-level had now reached the point when only the capitals of the pedestals which had once carried the statues of Cautes and Cautopates on high projected above the floor. These pedestals were accordingly disused and torch-bearers without separate pedestals were placed at the ends of the new benches situated six feet north of the screen. There is no doubt that these statues had been damaged and a strong likelihood that they had served in another part of the shrine before being allotted to this position. The head of the statue of Cautes had been broken off and re-set by dowelling. The back of the stone still exhibits the initial trimming with adze and pick, and was plainly never intended to be seen. The inference would be that this piece was intended to stand against a wall, not free, as in the nave; and, as may be noted in passing, it does not fit the earlier stone pedestal. It followed that in Mithraeum II the pedestals carried similar but different statues, which perished in the destruction that befell the screen, while this pair occupied another position, presumably in the sanctuary, with their backs against the walls of the apse."

850

ILN 1951, 455; Richmond-Gillam, 30 and Pl. X, A.

"In the corner formed by the screen and the east wall of the temple, stood a small pedestal of stone, 16 inches high, at the foot of which was found the fallen statue of a seated Mother-goddess, also 16 inches high and of broad, ungainly proportions, enfolding in her arms a basket with rests on her knees. Beyond the pedestal stood also the base of a sizeable jar, presumably for offerings. It will be observed that she is, so to speak, excluded from the main chapel."

Other parallels: Dieburg; Allmendingen; Hedderheim; Friedberg; Rükingen. These monuments will be published in the second Volume.

851

From the other finds, for an extensive report of which we refer to the publication of Richmond-Gillam, 62ff, we mention here:

1) A number of vessels, which "were evidently part of the furnishings of the Mithraeum. Some were containers for votive offerings, others were found near where they would seem to have been used in sacred ceremonies" (cups; cooking-pots; platters; *mortaria*; jars).

2) Iron objects: altar-shovel (*cf.* No. 480, 4), the bowl of which "contains some carbonaceous material, which has the properties of pine-cone charcoal"; thatch hook; mounting; candlestick (*cf.* No. 482, 6; 8).

3) Skulls and bones of domestic fowl from a ritual deposit below the altars of Period III. From the ante-room (Phase IIA) and from the nave (Period III) bones of ox, sheep or goat and pig (*cf.* No. 481).

4) "The make-up of the pavement in front of the altars contained an illegible *denarius* of the Severan age; on the flooring itself lay slightly worn coins of Victorinus (A.D. 268–270), Claudius II (A.D. 268–270) and Tetricus (A.D. 270–273) and a fresh *folles* of Maximianus I (296–308). The most important coin is the last, which associates this reconstruction with the third structural period on Hadrian's Wall, dated to A.D. 297–367. During the earliest part of this period the worn third-century radiate coins were still circulating in abundance. But the total absence of Constantinian issues suggests that the Mithraeum did not remain in use far into the century."

BORCOVICIUM

852

Underground Mithraeum, discovered in 1822 in a slope W. of the Chapel Hill, outside of the Roman Fort at Housesteads. It was excavated definitely in 1892 by Bosanquet.

Th. Hodgson in *Newcastle Chronicle*, 26 Oct. 1822 (quoted by Bruce, 93); J.

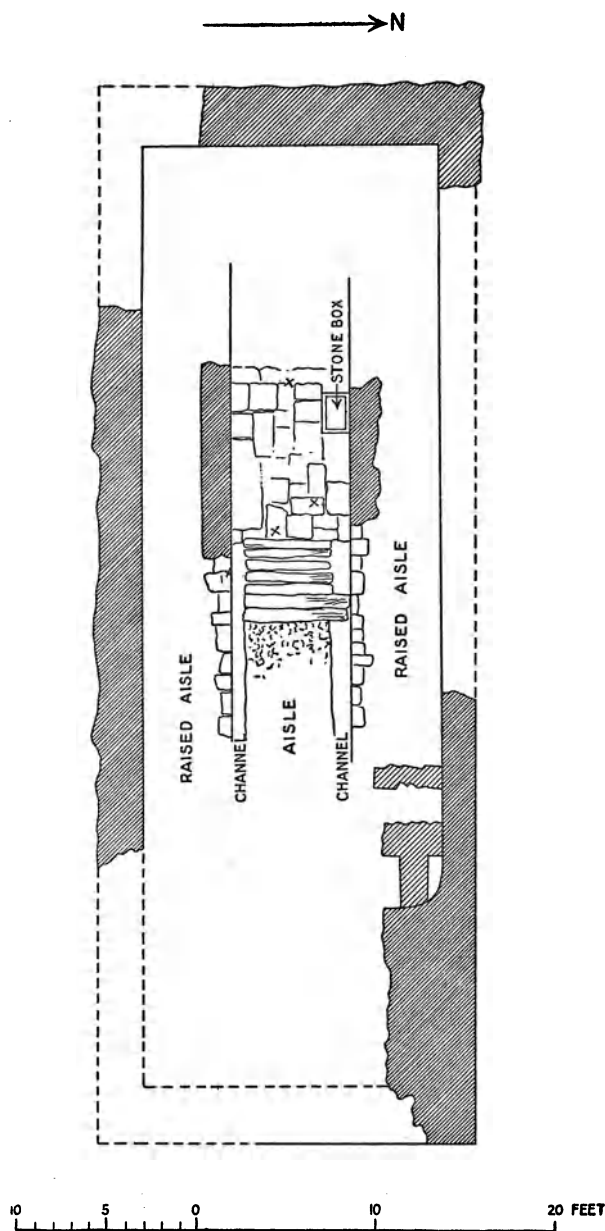


Fig. 224.

Hodgson in *Arch. Ael.* I, 1822, 263ff; *Hist. North.*, II (3), 190; Lauchlan, *Rome Wall*, Sheet III; Bruce, *Lap. Sept.*, 96f; MMM II 393ff No. 273 and fig. 312; Bosanquet in *Arch. Ael.* XXV, 1904, 257ff. See fig. 224. The finds are all in the Blackgate Museum in Newcastle-on-Tyne.

The sanctuary (L. 14.00 Br. 5.45) is enclosed by brick walls (max. H. 0.66), which are plastered only on the East side. New excavations have revealed, that it might have consisted of a *vestibulum*, through which on the East side by an entrance the main room could be entered. This consists of a central aisle (Br. 2.65) and two elevated side-benches (Br. 1.65). Traces of the wooden beams of their side-walls have been preserved.

Previous excavations had revealed the hindmost part of the cult-room with the niche (Br. 2.33 D. 0.75) with several altars and reliefs. The floor was covered with tiles, but later on the floor seems to have been raised by another layer, consisting of wood and tiles to prevent it from being flooded by the water from the spring. This spring lies on the N.-side in a basin (L. 0.52 Br. 0.37 D. 0.45) of brick work in the floor. Excess water can be drained off through two narrow gutters.

A layer of charcoal seems to indicate, that the roof was supported by wooden rafters. The sanctuary contains the following finds:

853

Relief in limestone, the greater fragment (H. about 2.00) was found before the altars Nos 863–4; the four smaller fragments in the centre of the cult-room (1822).

Hodgson in *Arch. Ael.* 1822, 283 and 288ff and fig.; *Hist. North.*, 191 Pl. LIV, 17; Bruce, *Lap. Sept.*, 100 No. 192; MMM II No. 273*b* and fig. 313.

The vaulted relief has the representation of Mithras tauroctone. On the r. side the bull's foreleg; above it Cautus with upraised torch in Eastern attire; cross-legged. He leans with his l.h. on a stick with an arch-shaped handle. In the upper corner the r. part of a crescent (Luna).

On the smaller fragments we distinguish:

- 1) A jumping dog.
- 2) Part of the bull's head.
- 3) Foremost part of Mithras' arm with the dagger.
- 4) Piece of Mithras' cloak with a round *fibula*.

854

Stone relief (H. 1.00), found in the niche (1822).

Hodgson in *Arch. Ael.*, 290, No. 2 with fig.; *Hist. North.*, 192, Pl. LVI, 48; MMM II No. 273*c* and fig. 314; Bruce, *Lap. Sept.*, 100 No. 192. See fig. 225.

On a base stands Cautus in Eastern attire; cross-legged. He raises his torch with both hands. Head lost.

855

Limestone relief (H. 0.68), found approximately in the middle of the central aisle (1898) together with the two following Nos.

Bosanquet in *Arch. Ael.* 1904, 261 with fig. 32.

On a base a standing male person, dressed in a short tunic. Legs and feet are nude. He holds his arms tightly down along his body, but in his clenched fists he held in all probability the attributes, which are lost now. On his r. arm part of a snake(?). Head lost. Aion.

856

Statue in limestone (H. 0.76).

Bosanquet: *o.c.*, 261 and fig. 33.

Cautopates in Eastern attire, standing on a base; cross-legged. He points his torch downwards. Head lost.

857

Limestone statue (H. 0.93).

Bosanquet, *o.c.*, with fig.

Cautes in Eastern attire and cross-legged. He raises his torch.

858

Altar (H. 0.56), found in the N.E. Corner of the main room (1822).

Hodgson in *Arch. Ael.* 291 No. 3 with fig.; Bruce, *Lap. Sept.*, 99 No. 191; MMM II No. 273*e*.

Altar with inscription. On the capital the bust of Sol in a crown of seven rays.

859

CIL VII 647; MMM II No. 481.

Soli / Herion / v(otum) l(ibens) m(erito).

860

Stone relief (H. 1.33 Br. 0.82), found "between two altars (Nos 863-4) about 0.66 before the back wall" (Hodgson).

Hodgson in *Arch. Ael.*, 294 No. 5; *Hist. North.*, 190, Pl. LIV, 16; Bruce, *Lap. Sept.*, 96 No. 188 and fig., *Rom. Wall*, 398f and fig.; MMM II No. 273*d* and fig. 315; Hinks in Bruton, *Fort Manch.*, Pl. 17; Adams, *Mithraism*, fig. 3; Eisler, *Weltenmantel*, II, 410ff fig. 43; Saxl, fig. 159; D. Levi in *Hesperia*, XIII, 1944, 293 fig. 18. See fig. 226.

The lower part has not been worked and is rough. Above it in an open oval circle, the torso of a young naked Mithras with long curly hair, emerging from an egg, the two halves of which are visible above the head and below the hips. The raised arms have got lost, but his hands, in which a dagger (r) and a torch (l) have been

preserved on the rim of the circle. This part is framed by a rim on which the signs of the Zodiac: Aquarius-Pisces-Aries-Taurus-Gemini(lost)-Cancer and Leo-Virgo-Libra(lost)-Scorpio-Sagittarius-Capricornus.

861

Two altars, found (1822) on either side of the preceding No. One of them (H. 1.17) has the inscr. No. 863; the other (H. 1.50) the inscr. No. 864. (Hodgson in *Arch. Ael.*, 299 No. 6; 302 No. 7; *Hist. North.*, 190 with fig. LI; Bruce, *Lap. Sept.*, 98f No. 189, 190).

Two other altars were found in 1898. The first one, of which only the upper part (H. 0.43 Br. 0.30) has been preserved and which was found in the East part of the sanctuary, is dedicated to Mars and Victoria (No. 865). The other (H. 0.45 Br. 0.23), dedicated to Cocidius (No. 866) was found in the W. corner and has to be compared with an altar, which during the first excavation was discovered on the East side of the Mithraeum and was considered as illegible. Bruce, however, (*Lap. Sept.*, 93, No. 183) reads an inscription, dedicated to Cocidius, a god related with Mars and Silvanus. It is not excluded, that these last altars belonged to the inventory of the sanctuary, but they may originate as well from another shrine, lying in its neighbourhood (F. Haverfield in *Arch. Ael.*, 1904, 281 Nos 8, 9).

862

Both excavations revealed fragments of red pottery and thin blackglazed pottery. All data — the inscription No. 863 and a silver coin of Faustina Minor — indicate, that the Mithraeum was used still before 253 A.D. According to Bosanquet, the greater part of the sanctuary seems to have been destroyed by fire.

863

Altar, found in 1822.

CIL VII 646; MMM II No. 480.

Deo Soli / invicto Myt/rae Saeculari / Publ(ius) Proculi/nus c(enturio) pro se/ et Proculo fil(io) / suo v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito) / d(ominis) n(ostris) Gallo et / Volusino co(n)s(ulibus).

252 A.D.

"In contrast to previous editors, I consider that this inscription silted up gradually from the bottom, and that the line on the capital and the first line on the die are all part of the original text, but have suffered most from weathering. This is accepted by Richmond in *Durham University Journal* XXXVI, 1943, 6" (Wright).

864

Altar, found in 1822. On the r. side a *praefericulum*; on the l. side a *patera*.

CIL VII 645; MMM II No. 479.

Deo / Soli invi/cto Mytrae / Saeculari / Litorius / Pacatianus / b(ene)f(iciarius) co(n)s(ulis) pro / se et suis v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

865

Altar, found in 1898.

Marti / et Vi(c)/toriae.

866

Altar, found in 1898.

I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo) / et deo Cocidi[o] genioq(ue) hui(u)s / loci mil(ites) leg(ionis) / II Aug(ustae) [agentes?] / in praesidio / v(otum) [s(olverunt)] l(ibentes) m(erito).

867

Altar, found in 1822.

Cocidio [et] / Genio pr[ae]/sidi(i) Vale/rianus m(iles) le/g(ionis) VI v(icticis) p(iae) f(idelis) v(otum) p(osuit).

868

Altar, found not far from the Eastern entrance of the cult-room.

CIL VII 648; MMM II No. 482.

Deo / S[oli].

869

Ara. Videtur oriunda esse ex sacrario Mithriaco.

CIL VII 649; MMM II No. 483.

Sol(i) i[n]vic(to) / vivi.tuc /

CORSTOPITUM

870

Discovered by R. H. Forster in Corbridge in 1911.

JRS 1911, 231; *Ann. ép.* 1912 No. 199; 1914 No. 188.

Soli invicto / vexillatio / leg(ionis) VI vic(arius) p(iae) f(idelis) f(elicis) / sub cura Sex(ti) / Calpurn(i) Agrico/lae leg(ati) aug(usti) pr(o)pr(aetore).

163 A.D.

See also: *PSAL* XXIV, 1911–2, 270.

HATTWIFEL

871

Stukeley, *Pal. Brit.*, III, 33 mentions an altar, which he kept in his garden at Stanford.

Deo Soli invicto.

CAMBOGLANNA

872

Ara litteris evanidis. From Birdoswald.

CIL VII 831; MMM II No. 489.

D(eo) S(oli) / invicto / N(abarze?) pesm/cus Licinii / Ripanus praef(ectus) v(otum) s(olvit).

There seem to be three *praefericula* upon the top of the capital which is very singular (Horsley).

PETRIANAE

873

At Scaleby Castle. From Cambeckfort.

CIL VII 890; MMM II No. 485.

Deo Soli Mitr(ae) /vis / ...cor.....

874

"Dug up at Cambeck in the ruins of an old stone wall" (Gibs).

CIL VII 889; MMM II No. 490.

[Deo] Soli / [in]victo / Sex(tus) Seve(rius) Sa(lvator) / [pr]aefectus / [v(otum) s(olvit)] I(ibens) m(erito).

LUGUVALLIUM

875

Base of a statuette, only one foot of which has been preserved (Cautes).

Haverfield, *On two inscriptions recently found at Carlisle*, Kendal 1894; MMM

II No. 485a.

Deo Cauti Iu[lius....] / archietus.

archietus: *arch(itectus) l(a)etus* according to Zangemeister. "Peut-être vaut-il mieux lire *archie[r]us* pour ἀρχιερέυς" (Cumont).

BREMENIUM

876

Tabula lapidea magna litteris bonis.

CIL VII 1039; MMM II No. 486.

Deo invicto Soli soc(io) / sacrum. Pro salute / et incolumitate imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) / M. Aureli Antonini pii felic(is) / aug(usti) L. Caecilius Optatus / trib(unus) coh(ortis) I Vardul(lorum) cum con[sa]/craneis votum I[i]be[n]s [s(olvit) aedemq(ue)] / a solo extrux[it d(e) s(ua) p(ecunia)].

Probabiliter M. Aurelium Antoninum hunc Elagabalum esse statuit Bruce. Between 219–222 A.D.

L. Caecilius Optatus: cf. CIL VII 1035 in which he occurs in an inscription dedicated to Minerva.

From *consacranei* it appears, that the inscription is dedicated to Mithras (Cumont).

"The latest treatment of this inscription by Richmond in *Northumberland County History* XV, 145, High Rochester No. 5, where he discusses the reading" (Wright).

GALLIA



GALLIA

MIDI(?)

877

Esp. Rec. Gaule I, 481 No. 831 describes a stone relief (H. 0.35 Br. 0.23 D. 0.14), which was acquired by E. Dumas, whose collection consisted only of objects from the Midi of France. The relief passed into the hands of M. Lombard-Dumas.

Undressed person, sitting on a seat and "paraissant léontocéphale". A pair of wings is attached to his shoulders and in his r.h. he has an "objet méconnaissable, qui pourrait être une clef".

Already Espérandieu himself thought the representation too doubtful to ascribe it with certainty to the Mithras-cult, apart from the fact, that the genuineness seemed rather "questionable" to him.

AQUAE SEXTIAE

878

White marble relief, found near Aix "à la Torse dans un enclos ayant appartenu à la famille de Colonia". From 1839 in the Museum in Aix.

Rouard, *Rapport sur les fouilles d'antiquités faites à Aix*, III, Aix 1844, 17;

Gibert, *Catalogue du Musée d'Aix*, 1862, 65 No. 109; MMM II 436 No. 325.

"On voit dans une espèce de niche, dont le caractère architectural est celui de la décadence, le Soleil sortant des flots sur un char à quatre chevaux. Sept trous, régulièrement percés dans la chevelure de cette figure, font présumer l'existence antérieure de sept rayons de métal. .".

Above and below this representation an inscr.:

CIL XII 511; MMM II No. 503.

P. Tallius One/simus / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

ARELATA

879

Damaged white marble statue (H. 0.95 Br. 0.45). Musée lapidaire, Arles. Found in 1598 "dans les fondations d'un moulin à eau, près de la porte de la Roquette, à peu de distance de l'emplacement où était autrefois le cirque. Il resta dans la cuisine d'une maison près l'église Sainte-Croix, jusque vers la fin de l'avant dernier siècle, que M. de Graveson en fit l'acquisition. Après sa mort (en 1723) les consuls achetèrent ce torse pour la somme de 27 livres 14 sous, et le firent placer où il est" (Millin).

Rebatu, *Ant. Arles*, 78; Montfaucon, *Ant. Expl.* I (2), Pl. CCXV, 3; Pownall, *Ant. Gaul.*, 75, 96; Millin, *Voyage Midi*, III 503ff and *Atlas*, Pl. XXXVI, 5; Dumont, *Descr. Arles* = Noble de Lalauzière, *Abrégé*, Pl. III; de Laborde, *Mon. France*, I, 80 and Pl. LXIX; Jollois-Devilliers, *Rech. astr.*, Pl. B; Zoega, *Abh.*, 204, 7; Villeneuve-Bargemont, *Stat.*, II, 439 and Pl. XXIV; Seel, 230 and Pl. VII, c; Trichaud, *Itin. Arles*, 36; Clair, *Mon. Arles*, 216f; *Cond.*, 205; Jouffroy-Breton, *Intr. hist. France*, 103f and Pl. 7; Jacquemin, *Guide Arles*, 299f; Cicérone, *Arl.*, 30; Lajard, *Mém. Vienne*, Pl. I; *Rech.*, 211 No. 2 and *Intr.*, Pl. LXXVIII, 2; Estrangin, *Descr. Arles*, 67f, 200 No. 7; *Et. Arch. Arles*, 120 and 380 n. XV; Thiele, *Himmelsbilder*, 68; Bazin, *Arles*, 134f No. 5; MMM II 403f No. 281 and fig. 325; Gilles, *Pays d'Arles*, 102; Gonse, *Mus. France*, II, 69 and fig., RRS II 477, 6; Eisler, *Weltenmantel*, II, 439 fig. 54; Esp. Rec. Gaule, I, 120f No. 142 with fig., Constans, *Arles*, 78; *Arles Ant.*, 123 n. 1 quotes a copy of a letter of Amat de Graveson to Fléchier, évêque de Nîmes, in the Library in Carpentras *ms.* 609, 294–298. See fig. 227.

Dressed torso of a standing Aion, whose head and legs got lost. The two hands, which he presses against his breast and in which he probably held a key, are broken off. A serpent, winding itself in three coils round the god's body, rests its head on the god's breast. Between these coils in groups of three, the nine signs of Zodiac have been represented in a graceful way.

Above from the left to the right: Aries-Taurus-Gemini embracing each other, the first of whom has a sceptre in the upraised r.h. and the other holds with his l.h. a lyre, resting on a base.

In the centre: Cancer-Leo and Virgo in a long cloak, which covers the head. Further a youth with Libra-Scorpio-Centaurus.

The three other signs Capricornus-Aquarius and Pisces got lost.

880

Millin, *Voyage Midi*, 503 n. 1 mentions, that on the same find-spot of the Aion "des colonnes de granit des marbres et une lampe" were found. This lamp is also mentioned by Rebatu in his manuscript.

Through the ready intermediary of Louis F. Lachat, Keeper of the Arles Museum, where the lamp is at the moment, we received a photograph and the data of Rebatu. The representation has nothing to do with Mithras. It is a man, cutting his victim in pieces with his sword (*cf.* MMM II, 404). See fig. 228.

881

Head of Italian marble, found at Arles (H. 0.29). Museum Arles.

Bazin, *Arles*, 136 No. 11; Peyre, *Nîmes*, 80; Esp. Rec. Gaule III, 370 No. 2534 and fig.

Curly head with pathetic expression in Phrygian cap. Probably Mithras.

NARBO

882

In Narbonne, 9 Rue Michelet, left of the Church S. Sébastien's, is a badly damaged low-relief (H. 1.47) with a representation of a torchbearer, cross-legged (Information of W. Amelung to Fr. Cumont, MMM I 365 No. 281*bis*).

SOULAN

883

Marble altar at Soulan in the Pyrenees.

CIL XIII 379; MMM II No. 511.

Deo Mitr(ae) Faustus, Modesta v(otum) s(olverunt) l(ibentes) m(erito).

G. Jullian in *REA* XIII, 1911, 79f however, proved that the cave in which this inscription should have been found, is modern, and that even the inscription is forged and should read: Deo Act. T. C. / Faustus / Modesta / v.s. l. m.

ELUSA

884

White marble statuette (H. 0.48 Br. 0.37), found "non loin de Ciuta, petit bourg de l'Armagnac, bâti sur les ruines d'Eauze" in 1736. At Auch (Dep. Gers) in the Museum of the Société historique de Gascogne.

Daignan d'Orbesson, *Mélanges*, II, 279ff and fig. VII; MMM II 404 No. 281*bis* and fig. 326; RRS III, 139, 3.

Cautes, dressed in a long cloak, raises his torch with both hands, not cross-legged.

Daignan d'Orbesson (whose writings are not very worthy) however, speaks of "cross-legged" (p. 285). We did not receive informations about this monument.

SEXTANTIO

885

Cippus litteris non bonis saeculi secundi vel exeuntis tertii.

CIL XII 4118; MMM II No. 502.

D(is) m(anibus) / P(ubli) Anthi Logi / patris sacrorum / Cornelia Luci fil(ia) d(e) s(uo) p(osuit).

GLANUM

886

CIL XII 1003; MMM II No. 504.

Soli / invicto / D.A... Eudaem(on).

VASIO

887

Base from Vaison.

CIL XII 1324; MMM II No. 496.

L. Apronius / Chrysomal/lus / ob gradum per/sicum / dedicavit.

888

CIL XIII 542; MMM II No. 507.

Deo invict(o) Sex(tus) Vervic(ius) / Eutyches / Vestiar(ius) civ(is) / trev(ir)
pater.

889

MMM II No. 508.

V/ervi/cius Eutyc/hes pa/ter.

890

MMM II No. 509.

Deo Soli invicto Mithrae.

891

CIL XIII 546; MMM II No. 510.

Domu[i divinae col]/oniae Elusatium ordin[i sanctissim]/o et plebi optimae
piisqu[e colentibus in]/victum propitium M. Pom[peius... sacerdos?)] / innocen-
tissimus [dat].

colentibus: cultoribus (Hirschfeld).

M. Pompeius; CIL XIII 547 (*Eauze*): M. Pom[peio...] / sanctissimo sa[cerdoti] / C.
Cupitius [Para]/mythius.

892

According to MMM II 436 No. 326 Longpérier in *BSAF* X, 1868, 147 indicated
a "petite figure d'Eon trouvée en Auvergne et qui ressemble à celle qui se voit au
musée de Constantine". I did not receive further data about this monument.

BURDIGALA

893

Stone statuette (H. 0.36 Br. 0.17 D. 0.13). Found at Bordeaux and kept there
in the Mus. Ant.

Esp. Rec. Gaule, II, 139 No. 1081 with fig.

Standing torchbearer, cross-legged. He is dressed in a tunic, *anaxyrides* and
cloak, fastened on his r. shoulder. He points the torch downwards with both hands
(Cautopates).

ST. AUBIN

894

Damaged stone relief (H. 0.26 Br. 0.18 D. 0.12), found at St. Aubin (Esperandieu
situates this town in Indre, we only know St. Aubin, East of Cahors). Kept in
Paris, in the house of Mrs. Sarriau; I do not know, if it is still there.

RRR II, 480; Esp. Rec. Gaule, III, 458 No. 2737; Vermaseren in *Mnemosyne*
(S. 4) IV, 1951, 95 and Pl. XXI, 1. See fig. 229.

Exceptional representation of Mithras' rock-birth. The naked child steps out
of the piled up boulders, on which he leans with both hands. No attributes. One of
his legs is still in the opening of the rock.

BOURG-SAINT-ANDÉOL

895

A rock, situated not far to the West of Bourg-Saint-Andéol.

Caylus, *Rec. Ant.*, III, 343; Millin, *Voyage Midi*, II, 116; Rouchier, *Hist. Viv.*, I, 159; MMM II 401, No. 279; Esp. Rec. Gaule, I, 286 No. 422.

From various, often unreliable and scarce data, we may yet safely accept, that it really is the back-part of a Mithraeum. The rockface, in which the relief (see below) has been chiseled out forms the back-wall of the sanctuary, which lies against the mountain. Above the relief two grooves are hewn out, creating the impression, that the roof had been fitted into them. Of the sanctuary itself nothing was found back. At the foot of the rock, there are two fountains, the water of which pours out into two basins. Between the springs there were, according to Caylus, "les restes d'une table d'autel formée par le roc".

896

Relief, hewn out in the rock (H. 1.50 Br. 2.00).

Guillemeau, *Mém. S. And.*, 297ff; Lancelot, *Hist. Ac. Inscr.*, VII, 1733, 238; Ménard in *Mercur de France*, Mars 1740, 411ff; Caylus, *o.c.*, 342 and Pl. XCIII-IV; Millin, *o.c.*, Pl. XXVIII, 2; (cf. JS 1781, 798); de Laborde, *Mon. France*, I, 79 and Pl. LXV; Rouchier, *Rel. B. S. And.*; *Hist. Viv.*, I, 159ff; Lajard, *Intr.*, LXXXVII; Perrot, *Lettres Nîmes*, I, 361 and fig. 52; Mirabel, *S. And.*, 52 and Pl. I; MMM II *l.c.* and fig. 323; Esp. Rec. Gaule, I, 287 and fig.; Sautel-Imbert, 159.

In a cave Mithras as a bullkiller. He is dressed in a flying cloak. The dog and the serpent near the wound; the scorpion at the testicles; the raven is perched on the border of the rock. In the upper corners Sol (l) in nimbus and radiate crown, and Luna (r) with a crescent on her head.

In the left lower corner, in a frame, an inscription:

897

CIL XII 2706; MMM No. 501.

Num[ini]...v... / deum invictum / T. Fur(ius) Iu[stus?] d(e) s(ua) p(ecunia) f(ecit).

From the martyrology of St. Andéol (died in 202 A.D.) it might be concluded, that the sanctuary was in use in the beginning of the third century (Cumont).

Émile Thévenot was so kind to write me the following lines: "Un de mes correspondants qui a visité le site de Bourg d'Andéol, et examiné minutieusement le bas-relief dans les meilleures conditions d'éclairage, me communique une série d'observations en grande partie inédites et intéressantes:

- 1) l'orientation de la falaise est telle que les meilleures conditions de visibilité se trouve réalisées à l'équinoxe.
- 2) la figure solaire offre 11 rayons (et non 9).
- 3) la figure lunaire est surmontée non pas d'un croissant, mais de deux cornes de taureau et une oreille est celle d'un taureau".

MONS SELEUCUS

898

"Damaged statue in white marble (H. 0.40 Br. 0.45)" (Héricard). Now lost, formerly at Gap in the garden of the prefecture (Millin).

Found at La Bâtie Montsaléon in 1804 "dans les ruines d'une maison qui, d'après sa construction et le grand nombre d'objets curieux qu'on y a recueillis, devait appartenir à un des plus riches habitants de Mons Seleucus (Hér.).

Héricart de Thury, *Arch. Sel.*, 41; Farnaud in *M. L. Soc. H. A.* 1807, 312; Millin, *Voyage Midi*, IV, 174 and Pl. LXXI, 16; Laborde, *Mon. France*, I, 79 and Pl. LXV; Zoega, *Abh.*, 398; Jouffroy-Breton, *Intr. hist. France*, 104; Ladoucette, *Troubadour*¹, 262; ², 200; *Hist. Alpes*³, 338 and Pl. XVIII; Long, *Rech.*, 153; Vallentin, *Mus. Gap*, 22; *Epigraphie*, 16 and Pl. I; Honnorat in *BSEtHA* XI, 1892, 100; MMM II 402f No. 280 and fig. 324; Gillet, *Monogr.*, 18; Esp. Rec. Gaule, I, 240 No. 325 and fig.; RRS III, 138, 5.

A damaged statue of Mithras as a bullkiller in usual attitude and attire. The dog, the serpent and the scorpion on the usual places. Lost: the upper part of the god as far as the belt; the bull's head and tail; the dog's head. On the base an inscription:

899

CIL XII 1535; MMM II No. 497.

[Deo Soli in]victo M. Iulius Maternia/[n]us ex voto.

900

At the same time "coupes en terre d'une couleur très brillante" with an inscription were found:

CIL XII 5686 (1160); MMM II No. 498.

a) [G]audentius deo invicto.

b) Hector deo bono.

c) [Eu]porius deo in[victo].

Hirschfeld doubts the genuineness.

COLONIA IULIA VIENNA ALLOBROGUM

901

In the city of Vienne "not far from the Halle Neuve the remnants of a small underground, vaulted building" were discovered in 1840 (Lajard). Systematic researches have not been undertaken. The Nos. 902-904 were found.

902

Limestone low-relief (H. 0.70 Br. 0.80 D. 0.16), broken in two pieces. Mus. of Vienne.

Journal de Vienne, 21 Mars 1840; Lajard, *Mém. Vienne = Ann. Ist.* XIII, 1841, 170ff = *Mém. Ac. Inscr.*, XV (2), 1842, 202ff and Pl. I; *Rech.*, 587ff; *Intr.*, Pl. LXXIII, 1; *Mon. Inéd.*, III, 1841–43, Pl. XXXVI, 2; Allmer, *Inscr. Vienne*, II, 456 No. 270; MMM II 399f No. 277 and fig. 320; *Esp. Rec. Gaule*, I, 252f No. 340 and fig.; RRR II, 308, 2; Eisler, *Weltenmantel*, II, fig. 51. See fig. 230.

Standing Aion with lion's head and claw-like feet (l. one is broken off). Only a loin-cloth covers his body. Wings are attached to his shoulders and hips. With his r.h. he presses a key against his breast and in the other hand he holds a hook (key?). Before his mouth a serpent, which emerging from the rock has entwined itself around the god's body. To his left a burning altar, above which on a pedestal a naked youth in Phrygian cap. In his l.h. he holds the reins of a horse, whereas he probably held a spear in his upraised r.h. On the other side a similar representation (Dioscuri). On Lajard's drawing as well as on the pencil-drawing another fragment has indeed been reproduced, which probably has got lost now. On them the traces of another youth and the lacking part of the rock, out of which the serpent emerges, are visible.

The relief has traces of fire and remnants of red-painting.

903

According to Allmer, *Inscr. Vienne*, II, 454f No. 270 the following monuments were discovered in 1835:

- 1) A stone base with inscription; the upper part is broken off:

CIL XII 1811; MMM II No. 500.

Deo Cau/te.

- 2) A fragment, on which a Phrygian cap is visible.

- 3) Two genii in Phrygian cap, dressed in tunic and cloak; each of them holds a torch (Cautes and Cautopates).

These monuments seem to have got lost.

904

The l. bottom corner of a white marble low-relief (H. 0.22 Br. 0.21 D. 0.07). Vienne Museum.

MMM II 400f No. 278 and fig. 321; *Esp. Rec. Gaule*, I, 253 No. 340 (who looked for it in vain).

Mithras in Eastern attire and with a belt round his body, emerges from the rock. In the outstretched l.h. he holds a knife; the other arm is broken off. Before him part of a trunk or rock.

905

According to *PA* II, 1907–8, 204 (cf. *BATH* 1908) there must be a vase or plate with a Mithras representation in the Archaeological Seminary of the University of Vienne. As far as I know, it has not yet been published, nor did I receive any information.

LUGDUNUM

906

White marble stone (H. 0.36 Br. 0.14 D. 0.08). Still in the 16th cent. in Lyon walled "in una casa vicina alla porta e nella strada detta delle Forgie (Rue des Frages)" (Symeoni); then walled "in the flight of stairs in the house of Madame Pichon on the Place Saint-Jean, the former hotel of Chevrières" (Spon); in the 18th cent. transported to Paris, where it was acquired by Caylus; afterwards in the Cabinet des Médailles; finally from 1929 in the Louvre.

Symeoni, *Ill. ep.*, 139; Spon, *Rech. Lyon*, 29; Montfaucon, *Ant. Expl.* (Suppl.) I, 82; Seel, 312 Pl. XIVb; N. Müller, *Mithras*, fig. 15; Menestrier, *Hist. Lyon*, 19; de Colonia, *Ant. Lyon*, (first ed.) 95; Martin, *Rel. Gaulois*, I, 418 and Pl. XVII; Maionica in *AEMO* II, 1878, 42 No. 31; Caylus, *Rec. Ant.*, III, 345 and Pl. XCIV, 2; de Boissieu, *Inscr. Ant. Lyon*, 39; No. XXV; Allmer-Dissard, *Mus. Lyon*, II, 305; MMM II 398f No. 276 and fig. 319; Esp. Rec. Gaule III, 12f, No. 1745.

On the stone a coiling serpent in relief. Beside its head, in a frame, an inscription:

907

CIL XIII 1172; MMM II No. 492.

Deo invicto / Mithr(ae) / Secundinus dat.

The genuineness of this monument has often been doubted. The reason of this, as Cumont clearly showed, is Symeoni, who first of all copied the inscription wrongly (in stead of *Mithr* he wrote *Mithir*) and moreover added at the top of the stone a woman's head to his drawing of the monument. On the other hand this mistake of Symeoni's reveals the falsifications (e.g. in Italica in Spain), because these also reproduce the inscription as *Mithir*!

It is quite possible that the woman's head might be a wrong interpretation of a *Mithras*-head, which separately might have belonged to the monument and might have got lost later on. Should this assumption of Maionica be true, then we might have found a representation of *Mithras*' rock-birth.

908

CIL XIII 1771; MMM II No. 493. Guilt lettering, engraved in a bronze slab.

Deo invicto / Aur(elius) Secundi/nius Donatus / frumentar(ius) [le]g(ionis) et comment(ariensis) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

According to Almer the two inscriptions Nos 907 and 908 should have been found in the district of Saint-Just near the town-gate. Probably there was here a *Mithraeum*.

VENETONIMAGUS

909

Mithraeum, discovered under the Church in Vieux-en-Val-Romey (1869).

Desjardins, *Not. Vieu*; Quicherat, *RSSD*, 1870, 85ff; cf. *BSAF* 1870, 92f; Allmer, *Inscr. Vienne*, III, 387. Because there was not made a plan of the excavations, we give our description, as well as MMM II 397f No. 275 from Quicherat, who made his report from data of Guigue in *Revue des Soc. savantes* 1870, 86: cf. E. Thévenot in *Ann. Bourgogne* XXI, 1949, 246.

“Les fouilles, commencées près du chevet de l’édifice, dans la direction du levant, n’ont montré d’abord qu’une effroyable pêle-mêle de fondations, de tuiles à rebords, de briques, de débris calcines. En continuant, on arrive à une construction en petit appareil de la plus grande régularité, qui se trouve être un édifice quadrilatéral, ayant sa façade tournée au midi, long de 10.60 sur 1.40 de large. Un second quadrilatère s’est montré sur tout le périmètre du premier. Il y a plus : l’air de cette précinctio a pu être repérée sur un point, et l’on a constaté qu’elle s’élevait de 30 c.m. au-dessus de l’aire de la salle intérieure. L’ouverture d’entrée, presque aussi large que la façade, était précédée d’une fondation en libage sur laquelle paraissaient avoir été établies les colonnes d’un portique. Deux tronçons de ces colonnes ont été retrouvés.

Un boyau creusé dans le roc avait son dégagement en avant de la cellule, du côté de l’Ouest, dans le prolongement du portique dont j’ai parlé tout à l’heure. Arrivé à la construction, il se retournait brusquement pour en suivre le mur septentrional jusqu’au premier tiers de la longueur de celui-ci ; après quoi il se retournait encore et pénétrait de 90 centimètres sous l’aire de l’édifice. Ce réduit souterrain avait 50 c.m. de large sur 1.20 de haut. Il était voûté en tuf. Il contenait beaucoup de cendre mêlée d’ossements de toute sorte d’animaux et même d’ossements humains. On y trouve aussi plusieurs petits vases protégés par des tuiles à rebords, et des monnaies de Claude le Gothique portant au revers *Consecratio*.”

910

„Les objets recueillis dans l’intérieur sont :

- a) Une lampe en bronze avec ses chaînes de suspension.
- b) Une autre petite lampe en terre rose, dont le dessus porte l’inscription *VIRA*, et le dessous la marque de fabrique *IECI OF*.
- c) deux chapiteaux composites en pierre rouge.
- d) quantité de débris d’un placage de marbre, qui avait revêtu les parois de l’édifice.
- e) d’autres débris provenant de statues brisées, entre autres une tête d’Apollon, un buste habillé d’un manteau, un fragment de statue de femme également drapée.
- f) un piédestal renversé, sur l’une des faces duquel est gravé l’inscription”.

911

CIL XIII 2540; MMM No. 494.

Dei i(nvicti) M(ithrae) / patri patru/m G. Ru[f(io)] / Eutacto / C. R(ufius) Viri/lis fil(ius).

The same *C. Rufius* and his wife are mentioned in a sepulchral inscription.

912

- a) „Non loin du piédestal a été découvert un trou carré, pratiqué à peu près dans le milieu de la cellule et où il y avait des cendres avec un petit bronze de *Magnus Maximus*.

b) Les bases de deux autres piédestaux se trouvèrent en place en avant du mur de fond”.

913

„Au *nord* du Mithréum et de l’église a été reconnue la fondation en libage d’un gros piédestal. Tout autour gisaient des éclats de marbre blanc en nombre infini. Dans la quantité s’est trouvé le pouce bien conservé de la main d’une statue colossale. On a jugé qu’elle devait avoir de 6 à 7 mètres de hauteur. Une vaste édifice, situé au *midi* du Mithréum, se présente avec l’apparence d’un établissement de bains.”

914

Inscription on an altar.

CIL XIII 2541; MMM II 495.

Num(ini) Aug(ustorum) deo Soli pro salute C. Amandi Billicatidos . . et Amand(i) Maioris fil(ii) eiu[s] vicani Venetonimage[ns]es ob mer[ita eorum?].

LUCEY

915

Altar in Lucey.

CIL XII 2441; MMM II No. 499.

Deo / invicto / N(abarze) / Severianus / p(osuit).

N(abarze): conjecture of Mommsen; but, as Cumont remarked, also a mistake of the stone-cutter is possible, who wrote a N instead of a M(ithrae).

GENAVA

916

Altar from Genava.

CIL XII 2587; MMM II 506.

Deo invicto / genio loci / Firmidius Se/verinus mi(les) / leg(ionis) VIII aug(ustae) p(iae) f(idelis) / c(onstantis) C(ommodae) stip(endiorum) XXVI aram / ex voto pro salute / sua v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito). Posita / Muciano et Fabiano co(n)-s(ulibus).

201 A.D.

LES BOLARDS

917

In Les Bolards, Nuits-Saint-Georges (Côte d’Or) the remnants of a Mithras-sanctuary (C) were discovered in 1932–1939.

Thévenot in *Annales de Bourgogne*, XXI, 1949, 249f; *Latomus*, IX, 1950, 418f; *La Nouvelle Clío*, 1950, 620; *Gallia* VII, 1949, 366ff.

The exact measures of the Mithraeum are unknown. Via three steps one de-

scended in the *vestibulum*; the sanctuary itself must have been underground. The entrance lies at the East-side; the apse in the West-side. "Le périmètre réel du temple, l'importance du vestibule, la longueur de la nef centrale et des larges banquettes qui devaient la flanquer, l'agencement de l'abside restent autant d'inconnues fort regrettables".

918

Statue (H. 0.85), found near the entrance. As well as the following Nos. in the Coll. Roux-Vauthier.

Thévenot in *Gallia* VII, 1949, 307f; 318 No. 38 and fig. 6. See fig. 231, kindly procured by our friend Emile Thévenot.

On a base Cautes in Eastern attire. He raises with both hands the flaming torch; not cross-legged. Behind his r. foot a globe. Face slightly damaged. On the base an inscription:

919

Gallia 1949, 327 No. 15a.

L(ibens) l(aetus) Antti/ocus(*sic!*) d(e) s(uo) p(osuit).

920

Remnants of a statue, found near the entrance.

Thévenot in *Gallia*, 308; 318 No. 39 and fig. 7.

Thigh and knee of a second torchbearer (Cautopates) in short tunic. Hand with the outmost part of a torch.

921

Statue (Br. 0.55 base), which was erected near the entrance.

Gallia 308; 318 No. 40 and fig. 9. See fig. 232.

Statue of a lying lion. Between his forelegs a turned urn, from which water abundantly flows.

922

Two small heads (H. 0.08–0.10) in Phrygian cap (*Gallia*, 308; 318 No. 41 and fig. 11), which seem to belong to a representation of Mithras tauroctone. A foot of the bull; the mouth and neck of the dog in the usual attitude (*Gallia*, 318 No. 15).

923

Small woman's head, crowned with flowers.

924

1) Small white marble column (H. 0.45 diam. 0.07), decorated in high-relief with a spiral-like twig with oak-leaves and acorns (*Gallia*, 318 No. 46 and fig. 10).

- 2) Parts of two legs with engraved stripes. Ex-voto (*Gallia*, 318 No. 44).
- 3) Two hands with votive-offerings (*patera*?).

925

Metal objects ("lancettes, pincettes, instruments à trois branches, boulet de fer") which must have belonged to the ritual objects, used for sacrifices or initiations.

The coins mostly date from the end of the third and from the fourth centuries; the earliest known is of Commodus.

926

Fragments of a slab (Br. 0.33–0.44; originally 0.55).

Gallia, 327 No. 15b.

...] S(oli) a(eterno) B[.../...]lina co(hors) II [.../...] v(otum) s(olvit) l[(ibens)....

1. 1: *a(ugusto)* is possible too.
cohors II, III or IV.

927

Fragment of limestone from Porêts, which was used in the 4th century.

Gallia, 327 No. 15c.

...] Mythr[... / ...] VP(?) Bell[....

928

Two fragments:
basem.

929

The find of a building (D) about 30–40 mtrs S-W from the Mithraeum seem to point at a second sanctuary.

Thévenot in *Gallia* VII, 1949, 312f.

"Les objets exhumés comprennent de nombreux éléments de la décoration, débris de moulures et portions d'entablement, plaquettes de marbre, d'épaisseur et de coloration très variées, fragments de frises à décor de rinceaux, feuilles d'acanthé et signes en S, taillés dans une pierre blanche, très tendre, étrangère au pays. Une énorme portion d'entablement avec moulures et décor géométrique (lignes d'oves) a dû être réenfouie sur place. Les portions de fûts de colonnes, bases et chapiteaux, sont nombreuses et de dimensions variables."

930

Red and white granite marble disc (diam. 0.70) surrounded by rays (*Gallia*, 312; 320 No. 48 and fig. 16).

931

"Vauthier a recolté en outre un buste en marbre blanc, très fin, de Vénus, semble-t-il, une tête de divinité casquée, probablement Minerve, et plusieurs menus débris de petites têtes féminines très mutilées. C'est aux abords immédiats de ce temple, que Vauthier a recueilli plusieurs figurations d'yeux, incisés sur plaquettes de bronze, absolument analogues à celles qui proviennent du temple de *Sequana*, aux sources de la Seine et d'*Apollo Vindonnus*, à Essarois."

932

Three fragments which form together the word: [ma]gister (*Gallia*, 314 and 328 No. 16d).

The epigraphical fragments showed traces of fire.

933

"Au cours de sondages qu'il a opéré au cimetière sud-est, Vauthier a trouvé l'extrémité d'un flambeau tenu par une main, dans la pose exacte des dadophores, et une main tenant entre le pouce et l'index une petite offrande (fruit?), qui évoque les mains trouvées dans le temple de Mithra."

NOVIODUNUM

934

Vollgraff in *AntC* XVIII, 1949, 55ff discusses an inscription (CIL XIII, *falsae* 1047) from Dyon, which was considered as forged.

Μίθρης ἐν ὀργά[ι] χῶμα τὸ σῶμα καλύπτει

Χυνδόνακτος ἱερέω[ς] ἀρχηγοῦ.

δυσεβ(ίας) ἀπέχου λύσι(ον) οἶκον ὀρῶ[ν].

"Ici, dans la terre sacrée de Mithra, un tertre recouvre le corps de Chyndonax, grand-prêtre. Abstiens-toi d'impiété à l'aspect de sa tombe rédemptrice."

Vollgraff is of the opinion, that the inscription is genuine and that Chyndonax was a priest of a feminine Mitra. It is not very probable, however, that we find such a deity in a country, where we only occur the worship of a masculine Mithras (*cf.* Thévenot in *Gallia* VII, 1949, 314; *Ann. de Bourgogne* XXI, 1949, 257ff). The monument of Isparta, which plays a part in this discussion is not a Mithras but a winged Victoria (see No. 25). Elsewhere we shall speak of the possibility of a bisexual character of Mithras, which this deity may have had.

VESONTIO

935

There is no reason to assign a sepulchral inscription from Besançon (CIL XIII 5384; Espérandieu in *PA* 1907, 203; Thévenot in *Ann. de Bourgogne* XXI, 1949, 256f) with the title of *mater sacrorum* to the cult of Mithras. Women were excluded from the Mithras sanctuaries.

SEQUANA

936

H. Corot in *Mém. de la Commission des Antiquités de la Côte d'Or*, XX, 1933-5, 362 suggests the existence of a Mithraeum near the sources of the Seine. Excavations have to confirm this hypothesis (cf. Thévenot in *Ann. de Bourgogne*, XXI, 1949, 257).

ALESIA

937

Red terra-sigillata cup (diam. 0.16-0.18), which has a relief-work on the inside. Found in 1907 at Alesia (Mont-Auxois) in the centre of the town (cimetière Saint-Père). Museum at St. Germain-en-Laye (Salle XIII, vitrine 27), just as the following No.

Espérandieu in *PA* II, 1907-8, 203ff and Pl. XXVIII, 1; *BATH* 1908, 166 and Pl. XVI; *CRAI* 1907, 288f; Michon in *AA* 1908, 265f; Loeschke in *Tr. H.*, 327 and fig. 15; Thévenot in *Ann. de Bourgogne*, XXI, 1949, 249.

In a cave, indicated by graceful leafy twigs, Mithras is represented in his usual attitude as a bullkiller. The god is dressed in a tunic with long sleeves, *anaxyrides* and flying cloak. The bull's tail ends in three ears. The scorpion and the serpent very indistinct; of the dog only the front part is visible; Mithras looks at the raven, which itself is lost. On either side Cautes (r) and Cautopates (l) in Eastern attire and cross-legged. Lost: the bull's head, the middle part of Mithras' body; the lower part of Cautes.

938

Five fragments in red terra-sigillata (H. 0.09).

Espérandieu in *CRAI* 1907, 288; *PA* II, 1907-8, 203 with Pl. XXVIII, 2.

Cautopates with his torch downwards. He is in Eastern attire; cross-legged. Before him the hoof of one of the hindlegs of the bull (Mithras, slaying the bull).

EPAMANDUODURUM

939

CIL XIII, 11556.

D(eo) i(nvicto) M(ithrae) pro salute Sexti Maeni Pudentis.

Thévenot in *Ann. Bourgogne* XXI, 1949, 246 assumes the Mithraic character of this inscription.

INTERANUM

940

Small stone base (H. 0.17 Br. 0.16 D. 0.18), found in the bed of the river Nohain during operations at the railway (Sarriau). At first at Paris, Coll. Mme Sarriau; I do not know if it is still there.

Sarriau, *Inscr. Rom.*, 7 No. III; *Bull. Soc. Niv.* XVII, 1899, 149; Héron de Villefosse in *BSAF* 1897, 125ff; Rodet, *Sources Therm.*, 24; Esp. Rec. Gaule, III, 259f No. 2274 and fig.

A statue of which only the feet are discernable. On the r. side a rectangular small box, decorated with a band. On the base an inscr.:

941

CIL XIII 2906.

[A]ug(usto) sacr(um) deo / [invi]cto Myt(hrae) S(oli) [Ca]stor.

942

The following monuments were all found at Entrains "sur un étroit espace, dans le lit du ruisseau d'Entrains, à 200 M. environ au sud-ouest du pont, où la route nationale de Neuvy-sur-Loire à Chamecy coupe la voie ferrée" (Espérandieu). At first they were in the Coll. Delimoges at Entrains, now in the Museum at St. Germain-en-Laye.

Fragment of a relief, upper part broken off (H. 0.37 Br. 0.36 D. 0.17).

Espérandieu in *BSAF* 1904, 290; Rec. Gaule, III, 258f No. 2273 and fig. See fig. 233.

Sol in a *quadriga*. The god wears a cloak, fastened on his r. shoulder. On his r. side, on a small pedestal, the legs of a bird (raven?) are visible; on the other side the dressed bust of Luna(?). Before the *quadriga* on the ground stands a *krater*, to which the serpent points its head.

943

Fragment of a pebble relief (H. 0.32 Br. 0.31 D. 0.13). Inv. No. 70.064.

Esp. Rec. Gaule, III, 261 No. 2277 and fig. See fig. 234.

Mithras in the usual attitude as a bullkiller. The god has a sheath at his side. The dog with a collar holds its head near the wound in order to lick the flowing blood. Lost: Mithras' head, r.h. and dagger, r. foot and flying cloak; the hind part and legs of the bull; the hind part of the dog; the other animals and the busts of Sol and Luna.

944

Fragment of a white stone relief (H. 0.23 Br. 0.29 D. 0.12).

Esp. Rec. Gaule, III, 261 No. 2278 and fig.

Of the representation only Mithras' r. foot has been preserved, which he presses down on the hind-leg of the bull. The scorpion is visible only. Another shod foot beside Mithras' must have belonged to a torchbearer.

945

A fragment of a stone relief, broken in two pieces (H. 0.31 Br. 0.35 D. 0.03).

Esp. Rec. Gaule, III, 260 No. 2275 and fig.

Mithras as a bullkiller in the usual attitude and attire. A small part of the bull's tail is visible; the god's head, legs and arms are lost for the greater part. Behind his flying cloak a big raven. In the l. upper corner the undressed bust of Sol with wavy hair.

946

A fragment of a stone relief (H. 0.22 Br. 0.21 D. 0.13).

Esp. Rec. Gaule, III, 260 No. 2276 and fig.

Only preserved are Mithras' head in Phrygian cap and the vague remnants of the flying cloak.

947

Fragment of a stone relief (H. 0.15 Br. 0.24 D. 0.13).

Esp. Rec. Gaule, III, 254 No. 2287 and fig.

Arched end of Mithras' flying cloak and an ear, which comes out from the bull's tail. This fragment may belong to the preceding No.

948

Fragment of a limestone relief (H. 0.30 Br. 0.40 D. 0.09). Inv. No. 70.063.

Esp. Rec. Gaule, III, 262 No. 2279 and fig.

Mithras tauroctone. The bull itself has been preserved the best. He has a belt round his body and is represented in such a manner, that its genitalia are clearly visible. The scorpion is lost. Of Mithras only scarce traces are visible. The jumping dog (badly damaged) with its head near the wound; of the serpent only the tail is preserved. Remnants of polychromy.

949

By the many finds it is clear that at Entrains there must have existed a Mithraeum or several Mithraea. Espérandieu in *BSAF* 1904, 291 mentions ten or twelve other stone heads in the Coll. Delimoges, which were found on the same terrain, and which he should like to consider as Mithraic representations after their hair-dress.

950

1) Right upper corner of a stone relief (H. 0.27 Br. 0.22 D. 0.14).

Esp. Rec. Gaule, III, 263 No. 2282 and fig.

Dressed bust of Luna with a whip. On her head a crescent. According to Espérandieu, Delimoges had also another fragment of a similar representation.

2) Fragment of a stone relief (H. 0.20 Br. 0.27 D. 0.13). Museum Clamesy.

Esp. Rec. Gaule XIII (Suppl.) No. 8279 and Pl. LIV.

Head of Sol with crown of seven rays. Right: raven on border of the cave.

GESORACUM

951

Two statuettes of stone from Marquise (Pas-de-Calais) (H. 0.556–0.575 Br. 0.20–0.23), found at Boulogne-sur-Mer, between the Roman Fort and the harbour, digging the foundations for the hotel Dervaux (about 1850). Boulogne-sur-Mer, Musée municipal.

Hamy, *Boulogne*, 43; MMM II 396 No. 274 with figs. 316–7; Esp. Rec. Gaule, V, 180 No. 3967 and fig. See fig. 235, which I received from Jules Paublan, the Keeper of the Museum.

Two torchbearers, entirely undressed, only in Phrygian cap. A cloak is hanging over one of their arms. Not cross-legged; the arms and the hands with the torches got lost.

952

Fragment of a statue in stone from Marquise (H. 0.46 Br. 0.43), found under the floor of the Church at Rinxent about 1872. Boulogne-sur-Mer, Musée municipal, Inv. No. 4127.

Sauvage, *Antiquités*, 27; *BSABM* VII, 1904–8, 679; MMM II 396f No. 274bis and fig. 318; Esp. Rec. Gaule, V, 186 No. 3978 and fig.

Luna in a *biga*, of which the car is preserved only. Only the lower part is visible. The monument is too fragmentary to record it definitely as a Mithras-monument.

DENEUVRE

953

Folium argenteum, rep. Deneuvre.

CIL XIII 4735.

Deo in/ivicto(*sic*!) / German(us) / sol(vit).

ANGLEUR

954

We only mention the bronzes from Angleur, which are now kept in the Museum at Liège and of which Cumont has proved in full details (MMM II 427ff No. 316 with fig.), that they must have belonged to the decoration of a Mithras-sanctuary. These were found in 1883 “dans une cachette creusée dans le sol et constituant une poche dans l’argile à briques”.

955

Three small bronze slabs (H. 0.18 Br. 0.13 D. 0.01) with bearded heads of Wind-gods, roughly represented. Each has a wing on his head. One wing and a fourth god have got lost. On the back there are iron hooks for fastening-purposes.

956

Four small bronze slabs with remnants of iron hooks:

- 1) Leaping ram to the left.

- 2) Running lion to the right.
- 3) Scorpion.
- 4) Fish.

Cumont is of the opinion, that these four bronze slabs are parts of the signs of the Zodiac.

957

Small round bronze slab (H. 0.20 Br. 0.19) with Medusa-head, the serpents of which are knotted together below her chin. The serpent's heads are visible between two wings, which are attached to the temples. On the back are two hooks.

958

Two bronze statuettes (H. 0.24–0.20). Youthful women in flying cloaks and with outstretched hands, in which they held an object (Seasons?).

959

Bronze statuette (H. 0.18), representing a standing, naked youth, wearing a necklace and with outstretched hands. The thumb of the r.h. touches the index. As with the two preceding statuettes there is a hole in the back, which proves that it could be fastened with a hook (Apollo).

960

Bronze statuette (H. 0.12 Br. 0.17) with the representation of a lion with opened mouth, in which is a hole, connecting with another hole, made in the stomach.

961

Cylindrical bronze peg (diam. 0.18) with a lion's head in the middle. The mouth of the animal is made in the shape of a groove with a little tube fitting into it from the back.

962

Two fragments of a bronze statuette. Head of a lioness, of which the mouth is lost.

963

Fragments of a bronze vase (H. 0.07) with two ears, one of which is broken off.

964

Mouth of a fountain (H. 0.10 Br. 0.09) and a square spout and other fragments of round spouts.

PONS SARAVI

965

During operations for military buildings at Saaburg a Mithraeum was dis-

covered on the N.E. flank of the Grand-Rebberg, lying along the S. bank of the Saar in 1895. The finds are at Metz, Städtisches Museum.

Wendling in *WsdZ(Korr)* XIV, 1895, 226ff, No. 108; Michaelis in *Jb. d. Ges. Lothr. Gesch. u. Altk.* VII, 1895, 157; Box in *Mém. Ac. Metz*, 1895–96, 169ff; Lehner in *AA* 1897, 8ff; v. Fisenne in *Jb. d. Ges. Lothr. Gesch. u. Alterk.* VIII, 1896, 136ff; MMM II 510ff No. 273^{ter}; Keune in *WsdZ* XV, 1896, 333ff; *WsdZ(Korr)* 1896, 49ff; *AJA* 1897, 371f; *Jb. d. Ges. Lothr. Gesch. u. Altk.* XII, 1900, 380; Esp. Rec. Gaule, VI, 28ff; Colin, *Ant. Rhén.*, 190f; Linckenfeld-Herz, *Sarrebourg*.

The rectangular sanctuary (L. 6.20 Br. 5.50) opens in a NNE. direction, whereas the back is built two yards deep into the mountain. Before the entrance there probably was an elevated ante-room, because the water of a spring, which rose at a distance of 15 yards from it, was lead in this direction through a conduit. One enters the sanctuary by an entrance (Br. 1.18), of which part of the threshold and a door-post are preserved. Via three steps one descends into the central aisle (Br. 2.50), the floor of which slopes strongly (0.78) at first and then rises again towards the brick base (Br. 0.30) of the cult-niche. At about 1.00 from the entrance, the side-benches begin (H. 0.90 Br. 1.50), sloping towards the walls and running on as far as the back-wall. They are covered with a layer of cement and are supported on the front by brick walls.

An acute-angled block in stone shows, that there was a roof over the entrance, covered with tiles.

966

Relief in sandstone (H. 2.60 Br. 2.20), which stood on the base of the cult-niche and was attached to the back-wall by means of iron clips.

MMM II, Pl. IX; Fisenne, Pl. II–III and fig. p. 139; Esp. Rec. Gaule, VI, No. 4563; Saxl, fig. 81, See fig. 236.

The badly damaged relief rests upon a cornice, consisting of a projecting edge with a votive inscription and four layers with flower- and egg-decoration. On it the main scene (H. 1.70 Br. 1.75), consisting of three parts, connected with iron hooks. On either side a raised border (Br. 0.22), which is crowned by a rosette. Each border contains five scenes. On the top of the relief a frieze (H. 0.50), on which another cornice with flower- and leafwork. On the cornice, which is partly lost, a bust (H. 0.17).

A. T H E M A I N S C E N E: Mithras as a bullkiller in the usual attitude and attire. The bull's tail ends in seven ears. The god's head and r.h. with the dagger are lost; the bull's muzzle and hind-legs are damaged. The dog and the scorpion are not clearly visible; the raven, at which Mithras is looking, was perched on the flying cloak. Under the bull's body a vase, to which the serpent, remnants of which have been found, probably directed its head. Beside it a lying lion in a menacing attitude. In the corners of the relief the busts of the four Wind-gods, two of which

are youthful and beardless. The two others are bearded. To the heads of Zephyrus and Eurus (l. and r. lower corners) wings are attached. These wings are omitted in the heads of Notus and Boreas (r. and l. upper corners), because above them Sol in a *quadriga* (l) and Luna in a *biga* (r) are represented. The latter are damaged.

B. The left side from the bottom to the top:

1) Standing person in tunic and trousers extends an undistinct object towards a person in long hair-dress (Saturnus and Jupiter?).

2) Person in flying cloak grasps the hairs of a smaller figure, which seems to be kneeling before him (Jupiter and a Gigant).

3) Reclining person, unclearly visible, the upper part of whose body is uncovered. He is leaning on his l. arm (Saturnus or Oceanus).

4) Mithras' rock-birth.

5) Destroyed.

C. On the right side from the top to the bottom:

1) Damaged. Mithras is carried along by the bull. Only the hind part is preserved.

2) Mithras taurophorus. The head and forelegs of the animal trail along the ground.

3) Lion, walking before a tree with seven branches (cypres).

4) Mithras in Eastern attire shakes hands with Sol in a tunic.

5) Mithras and Sol, both in the same attire as in the preceding scene, at the repast. Before them a table, covered with a cloth, on which courses. Right of it a bird on the ground (raven) and above it a bull's head.

D. In the corners of the frieze there are two more scenes:

1) In the l. corner Mithras, whose head and right leg have got lost. He shoots an arrow towards a rocky wall, against which a person is standing (the upper part of his body is preserved only). Before Mithras the outlines of a person in Eastern attire, kneeling down and extending his hands towards him.

2) In the r. corner a small house, of which the facade and tiled roof are visible. In front of it a squatting person, putting a torch down. Another person in Phrygian cap (probably Mithras) goes towards the house to hit the roof with a stick or to set fire to the house with a torch.

Between these two scenes a meeting of the gods is represented.

From the left to the right:

a) Standing person, dressed in cloak, which leaves the breast uncovered. Head and l. arm are lost. In his r.h. he holds a hammer (Vulcanus).

b) In the background a half-dressed bust to the right. With his l.h. he supports his chin.

c) Standing, naked person with a *chlamys* over his l. shoulder (Mercurius). The god has winged hair, and he points a *caduceus* down with his r.h. and carries a money-bag in the other hand.

d) Bearded Jupiter in long hair-dress, sitting on a throne. He is completely

naked, but a cloak lies over his knees. In his r.h. a thunderbolt, in his l.h. (now lost) probably a sceptre.

e) In the background, between Jupiter and Mercurius, a naked bust and beardless head in curly hair (Mars?).

f) Standing, robust person, bearded and completely nude (Hercules). He points a club down with his r.h. and in the other hand he holds a vague object (apple?). A lion's hide over his l. arm.

g) Standing, naked person to the right, with a trident in his upraised r.h. and an oar in the other (Neptunus). He rested his l. foot probably on a rock or a dolphin.

h) Youthful god, leaning against a big bunch of grapes (Dionysus). He held his l. arm (now broken off) behind his head. Around his middle probably a goat's skin.

E. The whole relief is crowned by the bust of a beardless person (H. 0.67 Br. 0.56) in long, wavy hair (Sol). As it is clear from seven holes, the god wore a radiate crown. A groove in the back of the head moreover points to a semicircular aureole.

967

CIL XIII 4539; MMM II No. 491a.

In h(onorem) d(omus) d(ivinae) deo inv[ict]o Marceus Marianus / d(e) / s(uo) p(osuit).

968

Two reliefs in sandstone (H. 0.93–0.96 Br. 0.45 D. 0.18–0.15).

MMM II 516f and figs. 467–8; Fisenne, 146 Nos. 30–31; Espérandieu, No. 4564.

Both reliefs are broken in fragments and badly damaged. Two torchbearers in Eastern attire and cross-legged. Cautopates points his torch (broken) downwards. On the monument traces of fire. L. leg got lost. On the base an inscr. Cautes raises the torch, as is clear from the attitude of the arms.

969

CIL XIII 3450; MMM II No. 491b.

ar / ...marli... Marc/ellius Maria[nu]s de / suo posuit.

970

The r. lower corner of a relief (H. 0.34 Br. 0.16 D. 0.10) with the representation of a standing, naked man, who seems to hold his hands crosswise on his breast. The upper part and the head have got lost (MMM II fig. 469; Fisenne, 147; 150; Espérandieu, No. 4567).

971

The upper part of a dressed male person (H. 0.20 Br. 0.23 D. 0.105) with a wreath or broad ring in his r.h. and a round object or knob of a staff in the other.

C. Tragau in Fisenne, 175 explains it as an Aion; but there are no sufficient indications for us to follow him (*cf.* Keune in *WsdZ* 1896, 338 No. 3 n. 7).

972

Fragment (H. 0.75 Br. 0.15 D. 0.12) of a standing, naked man with a bird (cock?) on his l. arm (Mercurius?). Head, hands and parts of his legs have got lost.

973

Naked torso (H. 0.145 Br. 0.16 D. 0.08) of a robust body. Head and arms are lost. The statue, preserved as far as the navel, may be a representation of Mithras' rock-birth.

974

Two female heads (H. 0.165 Br. 0.14 D. 0.12; H. 0.13 Br. 0.085 D. 0.09).

975

A hand (H. 0.18 Br. 0.12) of more than natural size. The thumb touches the index. In the palm a rectangular projection, on which probably some object was fastened.

976

Several bases and altars were discovered, mostly fragmentary and without any indication. One of the altars has a semicircular hole in one of its sides. Another fragment has an inscription:

977

CIL XIII 4451; MMM II No. 491c.

...de] suo[... dedi?]t it(erum).

978

Fragment of a trachyte brazier (H. 0.11 diam. 0.18). Traces of firing.

979

1) A broad stone vase (H. 0.45 diam. 0.15) with a high foot and two ears near the mouth.

2) Plate (H. 0.13 diam. 0.28) with a lion's head in relief.

3) Fragment of a red terra-sigillata plate (diam. 0.21) with a hunting-scene.

4) In the N.W. angle of the sanctuary a deep-grey urn with line-ornament was found, filled up with ash, bones of birds and two thin rings.

980

Numerous bones of animals, such as birds (mostly hens), beasts of prey (jaw-bones and fangs of wolves, foxes and martens) and the muzzle of a wild boar.

981

Among the remnants of numerous lamps, a small terracotta lamp (H. 0.038 Br. 0.07) draws the attention. On its upper-side a beardless head and on its under-side: SOLI...

982

At about 20 mtrs from the Mithraeum, two altars, dedicated to Sucellus and Nantosvelta, have been found (Michaelis, 154ff; S. Reinach in *Revue celtique*, XVII, 1896, 45ff; Keune in *WsdZ* 1896, 340f; Fisenne, 168ff).

983

In the back of the sanctuary, on the spot of the main relief, there lay on a fragment of this monument the skeleton of a man of about thirty or forty years old. The corpse had its arms tied behind its back and the wrists were bound together by means of an iron chain, a few links of which are preserved.

Apparently this corpse had been put in this spelaeum by antagonists of the Mithras-cult, in order to pollute it. This, however, does not at all justify the conclusion, that the followers of Mithras made human sacrifices in their sanctuaries (*cf.* Vermaseren in *Hermeneus*, 22, 1950, 70ff, where we discuss this problem with reference to the article of N. Massalsky in *BCR* LXIX, 1941 (1943), 159ff and in *Forschungen u. Fortschritte*, 17, 1941, 239ff). These antagonists presumably were Christians who destroyed and damaged the reliefs, as we see them now. Connected with this destruction are also the many traces of fire.

984

A collection of 284 coins from 254 A.D. to 395 A.D., mostly from the fourth century, in which the destruction took place. The foundation of the sanctuary has to be dated under the dynasty of the Severi.

AUGUSTA TREVERORUM

985

Stone relief (H. 0.73 Br. 0.25 D. 0.12), found at Treves in the Altbachtal in 1928. Treves, Prov. Mus.

Loeschcke in *TrZ* IV, 1929, 149 and 163 with Pl. XIII; *Tmp. Trier*, fig. 28; Leipoldt, fig. 30; Esp. Rec. Gaule, XI, 54ff, No. 7737; Vermaseren in *Studia van Hoorn*, Pl. XXII, 4. See fig. 237.

On the relief the front of a temple is represented: two columns with capitals, supporting a *tympanum*. Between the columns a representation of Mithras' rock-birth. In his l.h. the youthful, naked god carries a globe and with his upraised r.h. he supports a circle, on which six signs of the Zodiac. From l. to r.: Aries-Taurus-Gemini-Cancer-Leo-Virgo. In the four corners, which are left open by the circle, are the busts of the four Winds: Zephyrus (r. upper corner) and Eurys (l. lower corner); Notus (l. upper corner) and Boreas (r. lower corner). On the rock a raven, serpent and sitting dog, all three of them raising their heads towards

Mithras. Within the *tympanum* in the middle a *cantharus*, entwined by a serpent. To the left of it a lion in a threatening posture. To the right a bird. Before the latter a twisted, oblong object (thunderbolt), and behind it a small *cantharus*(?). In the upper corners the dressed busts of Sol (l) in radiate crown, and of Luna (r), partly lost.

986

Damaged stone altar (H. 0.98 Br. 0.34 D. 0.28), found in the Altbachtal, together with the following No. Treves, Prov. Mus.

Esp. Rec. Gaule, X, 204 No. 7585.

On the base Sol's head. On the front an inscription:

D(eo) i(nvicto) S(oli) / Martius Martialis / pater / in suo posuit.

987

Stone altar (H. 0.95 Br. 0.35 D. 0.28). Treves, Prov. Mus.

Esp. Rec. Gaule, X, 207 No. 7590.

On the base a Phrygian cap. On the front an inscription:

D(eo) i(nvicto) M(ithrae) / Martius Martialis / pater / in suo posuit.

988

Terra-sigillata cup (H. 0.45 diam. 0.175), found in the Roman cemetery of St. Mathias in 1905. Treves, Prov. Mus., Inv. No. 05.228.

WsdZ XXV, 464f and Pl. XIV, 12; Lehner in *BJ* 1924, 52; Loeschcke in *Tr. H.*, 322f and fig. 12; Koepp, *Germ. Rom.*, IV, 60 and fig. XXXVII, 1; Saxl, 22 and fig. 61; Cumont in *RA* 1946, 189 and fig. 3. See fig. 238.

Scene of Sol in radiate crown and of Mithras in Eastern attire at the repast. On the table a plate in front of them, on which probably a fish and three loaves. A servant, having a cloth in his l.h., hands with the r.h. another loaf. Sol drinks with his upraised *rhyton* Mithras' health, who takes another *rhyton* from a second servant. Both servants are in Eastern attire. In front of this scene a big lion to the left. Furthermore a serpent, entwining a *krater*, out of which it is about to drink. On its l. side a cock, on its r. the raven.

989

Head in limestone from the Jura (H. 0.18) found "bei der Anlage des (von der Hospitalwiese) nach Heiligkreuz hinaufführenden Weges" on the slope of the hill (1864). Treves, Prov. Mus.

Jahrb. GNF 1863-4, 86; Hettner, *Steind.*, 67 No. 114; MMM II 396 No. 273bis; Esp. Rec. Gaule, VI, 233 No. 4949 and fig.; Loeschcke in *Tr. H.*, 317 and fig. 7.

Head of a torchbearer (Cautopates) to the right. Nose damaged. On the back a stone pin, which proves that the head belonged to a relief.

990

A bronze votive slab (Br. 0.12), found at Heiligkreuz in a hill and in the neighbourhood of a well.

CIL XIII 3663; MMM II 491.

[Deo in]victo sacrum.

991

From the two preceding finds it may be concluded, that there was a Mithraeum at Heiligkreuz. Moreover, according to Hettner, a fragment of a lion's head and leg, the head of a "*genius*", all made of Jura-limestone, were found on the very spot, where the torchbearer's head was discovered. A knife with a gold handle, which Loeschcke (*o.c.*, 318) wants to ascribe to the Mithras-cult, comes also from the same place.

992

Altar in limestone from the Jura (H. 0.315 Br. 0.16 D. 0.19), found "bei Verbreiterung der Moselbahn unweit der Überführung des Weberbaches" near the Therms (1879). Treves, Prov. Mus.

Hettner, *Steind.*, No. 143; MMM II 434 No. 321 and figs. 378–381; Esp. Rec.

Gaule, VI, 220 No. 4924 and fig.; Loeschcke in *Tr. H.*, 314ff and fig. 6.

The front of the altar, worked on four sides, shows a lion, sitting to the right under a tree, into which a serpent is winding its way. Above its head a vase, without handles, and an arrow.

On the reverse, two cypresses side by side.

R. side: the dressed bust of Sol in aureole and radiate crown emerges from leaves.

L. side: Luna in aureole and crescent emerges from leaves.

The moment is very probably Mithraic. On the same spot a dedication to Hekate was discovered, and we know from various similar finds (see *index*) that this goddess was worshipped in the Mithraea.

993

Fragment of a white marble head (H. 0.15). Find-spot unknown, probably Treves. Prov. Mus.

Chassot de Florencourt in *JVA* 1844, 298 No. 17 and Pls. III–IV; Hettner, *Steind.*, No. 680; MMM II 435 No. 322 and fig. 382; Loeschcke in *Tr. H.*, 312f and fig. 1; Esp. Rec. Gaule, X, 176 No. 7536.

A head in Phrygian cap to the right. Probably a head of Mithras.

994

Three fragments of a plate (diam. 0.14), found at Treves, in the pottery's workshops along the Ziegelstrasse near the Roman Wall. Treves, Prov. Mus.

WsdZ XV, 251, Pl. 9, 14 and XXV, *Mus.* 465; Loeschcke in *Tr. H.*, 320 and fig. 10.

On the back of the plate a pin-shaped handle. On the front a relief of Mithras as a bullkiller in the usual attitude and attire. Of the jumping dog and of the serpent only one half is left. In front of the bull Cautes with upraised torch, holding a sickleshaped object in his hand. Above him the bust of Luna.

995

Fragment of pottery (diam. 0.095); find-spot unknown. Treves, Prov. Mus.

Loeschcke in *Tr. H.*, 321 and fig. 11.

A lion with raised head and tail walks to the right. In front of him a bull's head frontally. Above the lion five palm-like leaves are budding forth from a stem, which is visible below his belly. Under his tail a leaf, suspended from a thin tendril.

Loeschcke interprets the lion as the fire-symbol, standing before the head of the killed bull. The budding twigs, according to him, represent the origin of vegetation. We think the whole too doubtful to ascribe it with any certainty to the Mithras-cult.

996

Two fragments of red pottery, belonging to a plate (diam. 0.22), found "beim Bahneinschnitt in der Nähe der Schützenstrasse". Treves, Prov. Mus.

Loeschcke in *Tr. H.*, 326 and fig. 14.

On the greater fragment the foremost part of a horned bull; on the other the rear-quarter of a lion.

It is not excluded, that these fragments are Mithraic (*cf.* Lanuvium, No. 207).

APT

997

Stele (H. 0.32 Br. 0.19 D. 0.15), found at Apt, together with the following No. in 1903. Kept in the Townhall.

Esp. Rec. Gaule, X, 220 No. 7613 and fig.

Standing torchbearer in the usual attitude and attire. Beside him a cock on the ground.

998

Two stone altars (H. 0.38 Br. 0.13 D. 0.09). Townhall.

Esp. Rec. Gaule, X, 227 No. 7623 and fig.

One altar shows an upraised torch, the other a torch, pointed down.

ST. WENDEL

999

Head, formerly kept at St. Wendel. Head in Phrygian cap, which may have belonged to a statue of a torchbearer (*Bericht des Vereins für Nahe und Hunsrücken*, XI, 1869-71, 17; *MMM* II 425 No. 313). As the collection of St. Wendel

seems to have been transported to the Museum at Treves, it is not impossible, that it is the same head, mentioned under No. 993.

FÜRTH

1000

Head in red sandstone (H. 0.25), found at Fürth (Kr. Ottweiler) in 1730 and nowadays in the Museum at Treves (Hettner, *Steind.*, 67 No. 115; MMM II 425 No. 314 and fig. 358). Head in Phrygian cap, which has certainly belonged to a torchbearer.

SAARBRUCKEN

1001

A Mithraeum on the Western slope of the Halberg near Saarbrücken. The sanctuary, called in popular language "Heidenkapelle" or "Heidenkirche", lying on the terrain of Freiherr Braun von Stumm, was explored about 1920.

Klein, *Denkm. Saarg.*, 1923; Krüger in *TrZ*, I, 1926, 92ff and figs. 1-4.

The sandstone slope, which lies from North to South, has been artificially worked over a space of 43 mtrs and shows several deep holes and niches. At a distance of about 15 mtrs from the N. side, one enters via an entrance a hewn-out cave (Br. 6.50 D. 9.00), consisting of a central aisle (L. 6.00 Br. 3.25) with on either side the elevated benches (H. 0.40 Br. 1.50). A narrower bench runs along the back-wall.

In the floor of the central aisle there is a round hole in the S. corner (diam. 0.35 D. 0.20), which may have served for water. These data point to a spelaeum, which may have existed here in the neighbourhood of a small riverside *castellum*. The finds, however, do not supply us with any definitive indications. Many sherds of pottery, especially terra-sigillata, were found and furthermore a number of bronze coins, dating from Diocletianus to Gratianus. It is far from certain, that the so-called "Säulen mit Mannsfiguren", should have been representations of torchbearers.

Krüger (p. 97) mentions a report by Kollner with the following information: "Im Jahre 1772 seien in der s.g. Heidenkirche 8 Fuß hohe Säulen ausgegraben worden, auf deren Seiten Mannsfiguren abgebildet gewesen mit priesterlichem Kopfputz, langem Kleid, in der l.h. einen Stab haltend, die r. auf dem Mund gelegt; unterhalb dieser Figuren hätten sich hieroglyphische Buchstaben befunden".

UNKNOWN

1002

According to Pagenstecher in *JdI* 27, 1912, 171f in the Museum at Calena there must be a fragment of pottery with a Mithras-representation, which should come from Gallia. "Kopf des stiertötenden Mithras. Die phrygische Mütze deckt das Haupt; der Sternübersäte Mantel flattert zurück. Über ihm der Rest eines gabelförmigen Gegenstandes, der Schweif eines Skorpions(?)".

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MMM	CIMRM	MMM	CIMRM	MMM	CIMRM
111	759	273e	858	285f	96
112	762	273bis	989	285g	97
113	763	273ter	965	285h	98
114	723	274	951	285i	99
115	726	274bis	952	285j	100
116	736	275	909	285k	101
117	737	276	906	285l	101
118	755	277	902	287	13
119	164	278	904	288	212
120	165, 166	279	895, 896	289	766
121	163	280	898	290	766
267a	810	281	879	293	330
267b	813	281bis	884	295	278
268	830	282	158	297	649
269a	831	283	148	298	686
269b	832	284a	122	301	700
270	835	284b	125	313	999
271	833	284c	123, 124	314	1000
272	838	284d	128	316	954
272b	839	285	91	321	992
273	852	285b	92	322	993
273b	853	285c	93	325	878
273c	854	285d	94	326	892
273d	860	285e	95		

INDEX OF THE CORRESPONDING INSCRIPTIONS IN CUMONT, MMM
AND CIMRM

MMM	CIMRM	MMM	CIMRM	MMM	CIMRM
1	32	47	519	111	583
2	17	48	517	114	562
3	18	48bis	518	116	471
4	22	49	630	131	251
5	72	51	563	132	259
7	400	52	553	133	255
8	401	53	564	134	246
9	402	54	565	135	248
10	403	54a	502	136	249
11	404	55	501	137	313
12	405	56	566	138	311
13	406	57	562	139	315
14	420	58	361	140	325
16	376	59	329	141	235
17	520	60	333	142	323
18	521	61	360	143	213
19	513	62	416	144	214
20	514	63	591	145	215
21	522	64	341	146	209
22	523	66	362	147	206
23	524	67	528	148	175
24	516	68	547	149	178
25	466	69	594	150	171
26	336	70	574	151	170
27	369	71	575	152	647
28	527	72	576	153	648
29	526	73	363	154	652
30	409	74	577	155	203
31	410	75	578	156	687
32	377	76b	365	157	688
33	604	77	633	158	689
34	510	79	568	159	674
35	511	81	379	160	684
36	622	82	569	161	660
37	626	84	573	162	646
38	509	85	572	163	698
39	555	86	570	164	699
40	623	87	571	165	738
41	624	89a	512	168	740
42	625	104	579	169	741
43	351	105	418	170	742
45	367	107	580	171	743
46	561	108	581	172	744
46a	632	109	582	173	745

MMM	CIMRM	MMM	CIMRM	MMM	CIMRM
174	746	472	809	512	797
175	747	473	836	513	802
176	748	474	834	514	803
177	749	475	841	515	806
178	754	476	842	516	799
179	758	477	843	517	800
181	715	478	840	518	801
182	732	479	864	519	767
183	733	480	863	522	804
184	727	481	859	523	807
185	724	482	868	524	805
186	730	483	869	525	133
187	718	485	873	526	134
188	717	485a	875	527	135
188a	721	486	876	528	136
189	705	487	837	529	140
190	706	489	872	531	141
191	707	490	874	532	142
192	708	491	990	533	143
193	704	491a	967	534	132
194	324	491b	969	535	144
201	672	491c	977	536	145
202	177	492	907	537	146
203a	683	493	908	538	130
204	658	494	911	539	149
205	750	495	914	540	151
206	751	496	887	541	152
207	752	497	899	542	153
208	753	498	900	543	150
209	702	499	915	544	154
212	714	500	903	545	155
213	713	501	897	546	156
214	712	502	885	547	157
215	711	504	886	554	331
216	710	506	916	560a	282
217	709	507	888	560b	283
218	703	508	889	560c	284
219	701	509	890	560d	285
220	167	510	891	560e	286
471	811	511	883		

PLATES



Fig. 1a-c – Mon. 1-3



Fig. 2 – Mon. 11



Fig. 3 – Mon. 12



Fig. 4 – Mon. 27



Fig. 5 – Mon. 30



Fig. 6 – Mon. 31



Fig. 7 – Mon. 34



Fig. 13 – Mon. 34



Fig. 14 – Mon. 37



Fig. 15 – Mon. 40



Fig. 16 – Mon. 42, 1



Fig. 17 – Mon. 42, 2 and 3



Fig. 18 – Mon. 42, 4 and 5



Fig. 19 – Mon. 48, 8-10



Fig. 20 – Mon. 42, 11 and 12



Fig. 21 – Mon. 42, 12 and 13

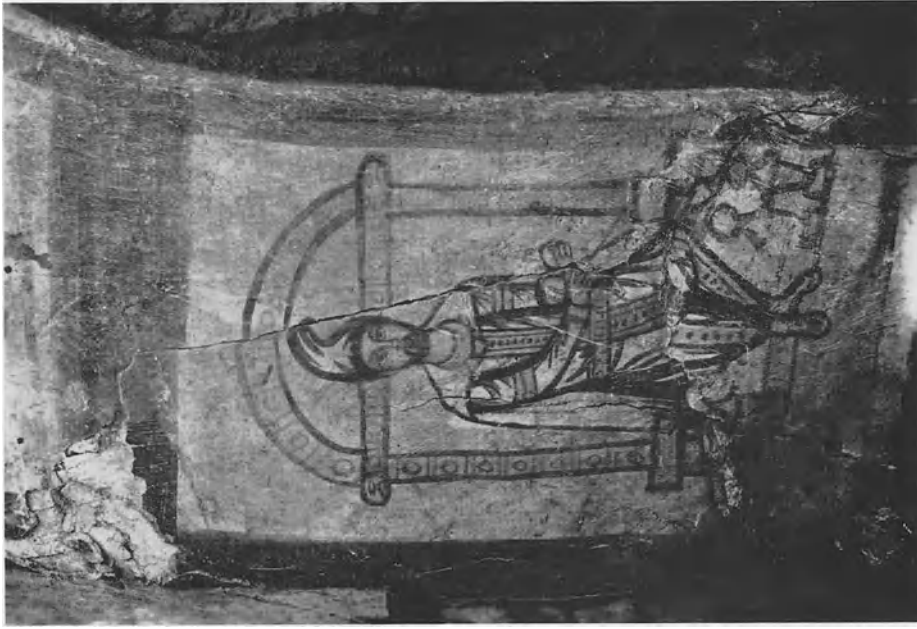


Fig. 22a – Mon. 44

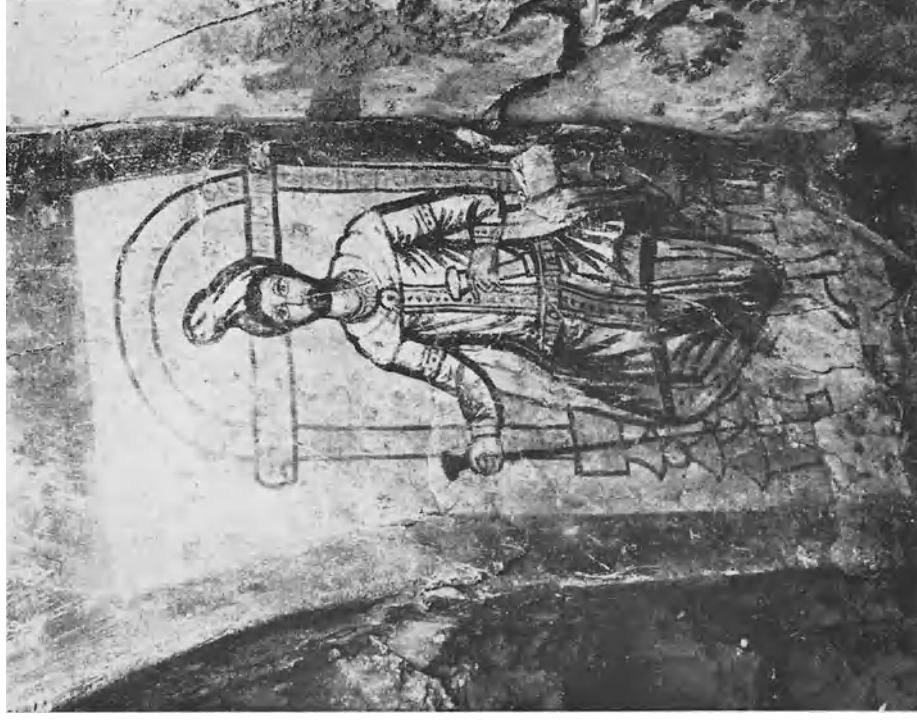


Fig. 22b – Mon. 44



Fig. 23 – Mon. 49



Fig. 24 – Mon. 52

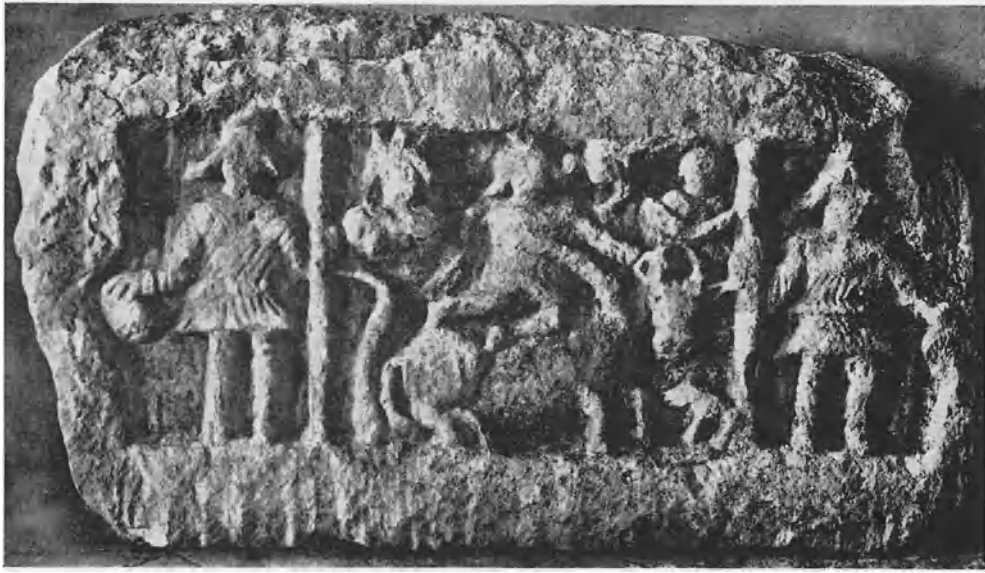


Fig. 25 – Mon. 71



Fig. 26 – Mon. 75



Fig. 27 – Mon. 76



Fig. 28 – Mon. 77

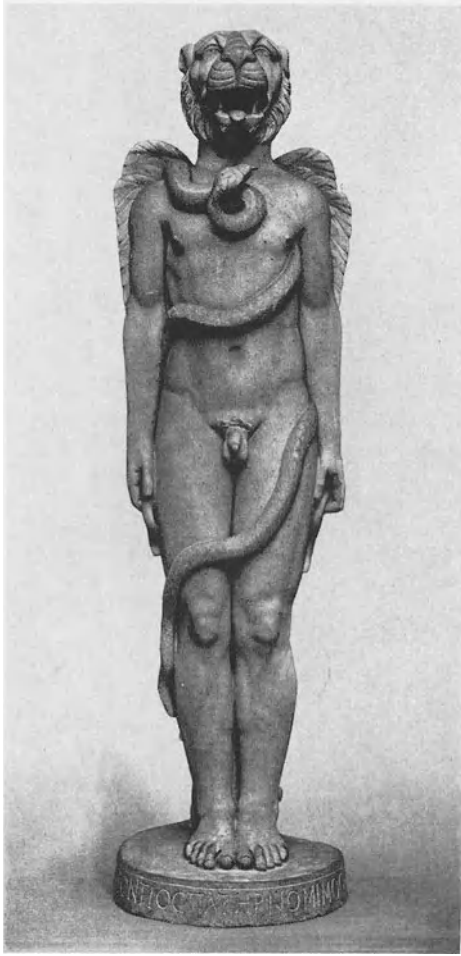


Fig. 29a – Mon. 78



Fig. 29b – Mon. 78



Fig. 30 – Mon. 80



Fig. 31 – Mon. 82



Fig. 32 – Mon. 83



Fig. 33 – Mon. 88



Fig. 34 – Mon. 91



Fig. 35 – Mon. 94



Fig. 36 – Mon. 103



Fig. 37 – Mon. 122



Fig. 38 – Mon. 123



Fig. 39 – Mon. 124



Fig. 40 – Mon. 125



Fig. 41 – Mon. 126



Fig. 42 – Mon. 127 and 128



Fig. 43 – Mon. 148

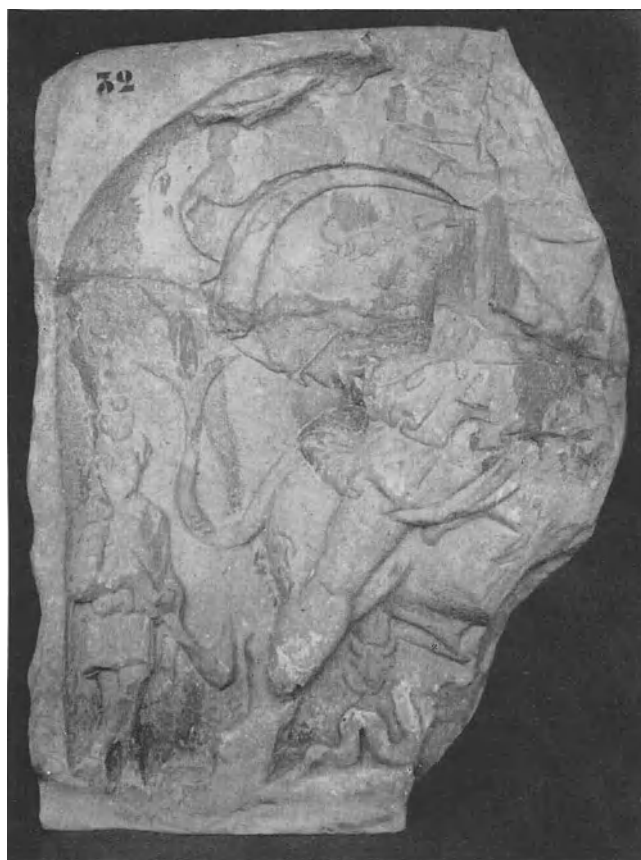


Fig. 44 – Mon. 158



Fig. 45 – Mon. 163



Fig. 46 – Mon. 164



Fig. 47 – Mon. 172



Fig. 48 – Mon. 173



Fig. 49 – Mon. 174



Fig. 50 – Mon. 180



Fig. 52 – Mon. 181



Fig. 53 – Mon. 182



Fig. 54 – Mon. 183



Fig. 55 – Mon. 184

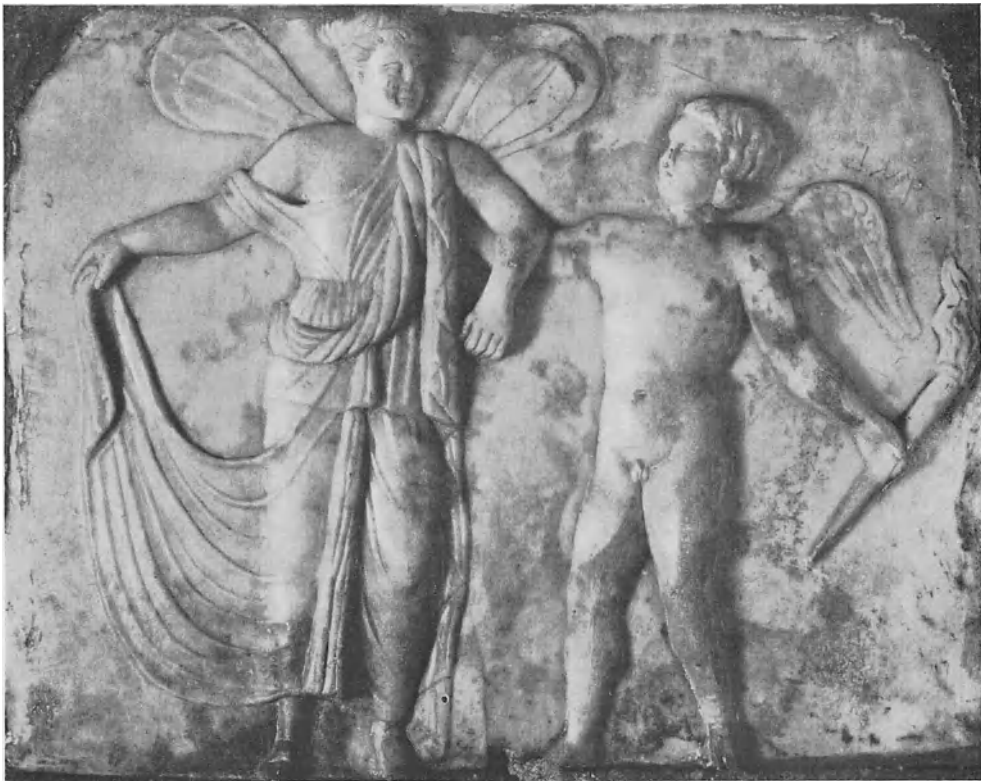


Fig. 56 – Mon. 186



Fig. 57 – Mon. 187



Fig. 59 – Mon. 191



Fig. 58 – Mon. 188



Fig. 60 – Mon. 193



Fig. 61 – Mon. 194



Fig. 62 – Mon. 200



Fig. 63 – Mon. 201



Fig. 65 – Mon. 205



Fig. 64 – Mon. 204



Fig. 66 – Mon. 207



Fig. 67 – Mon. 208

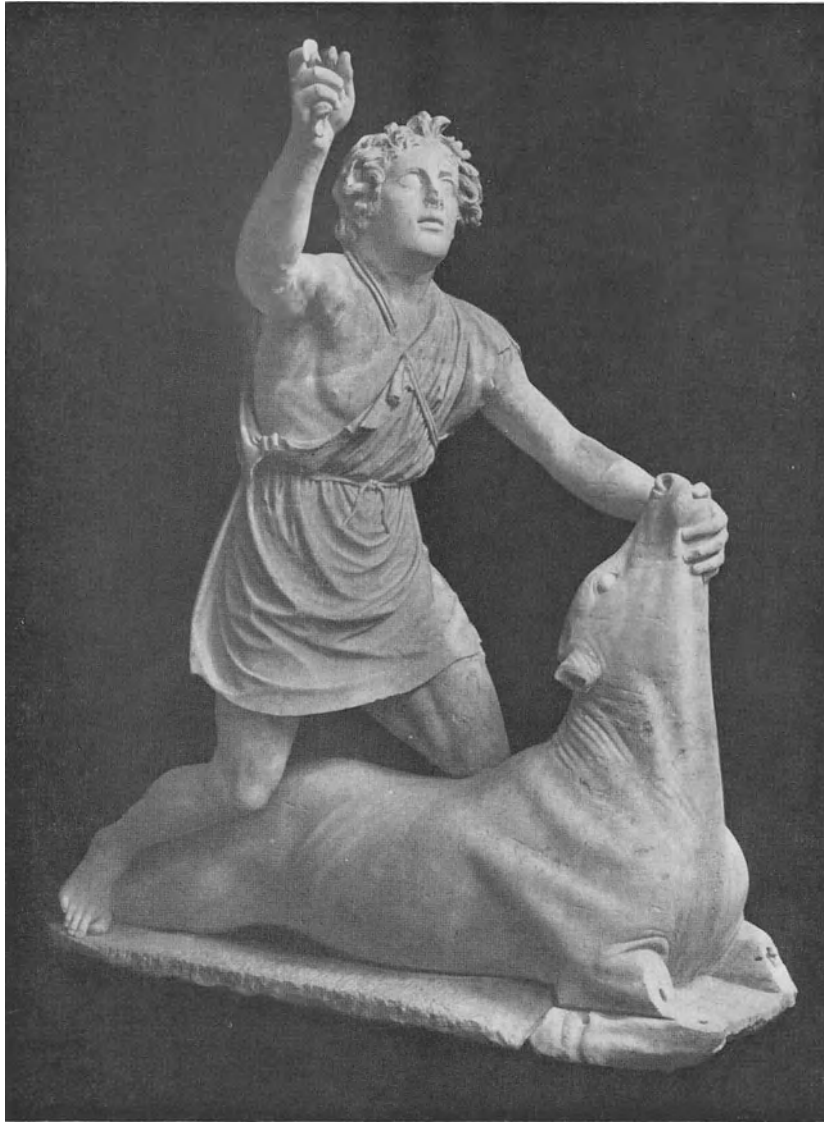


Fig. 69 – Mon. 230



Fig. 72 – Mon. 240



Fig. 73 – Mon. 245



Fig. 75 – Mon. 252



Fig. 76a – Mon. 254

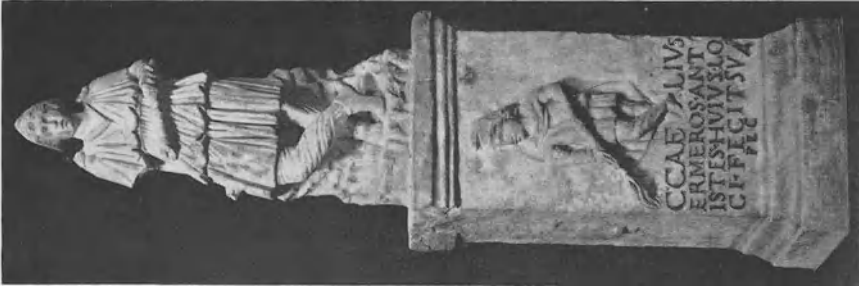


Fig. 76b – Mon. 254



Fig. 78 – Mon. 268, 1



Fig. 79 – Mon. 268, 3



Fig. 84 – Mon. 310



Fig. 85 – Mon. 312



Fig. 86 – Mon. 314



Fig. 87 – Mon. 318



Fig. 88 – Mon. 321



Fig. 89 – Mon. 326



Fig. 90 – Mon. 326



Fig. 91 – Mon. 334



Fig. 92 – Mon. 335



Fig. 93 – Mon. 335



Fig. 94 – Mon. 337

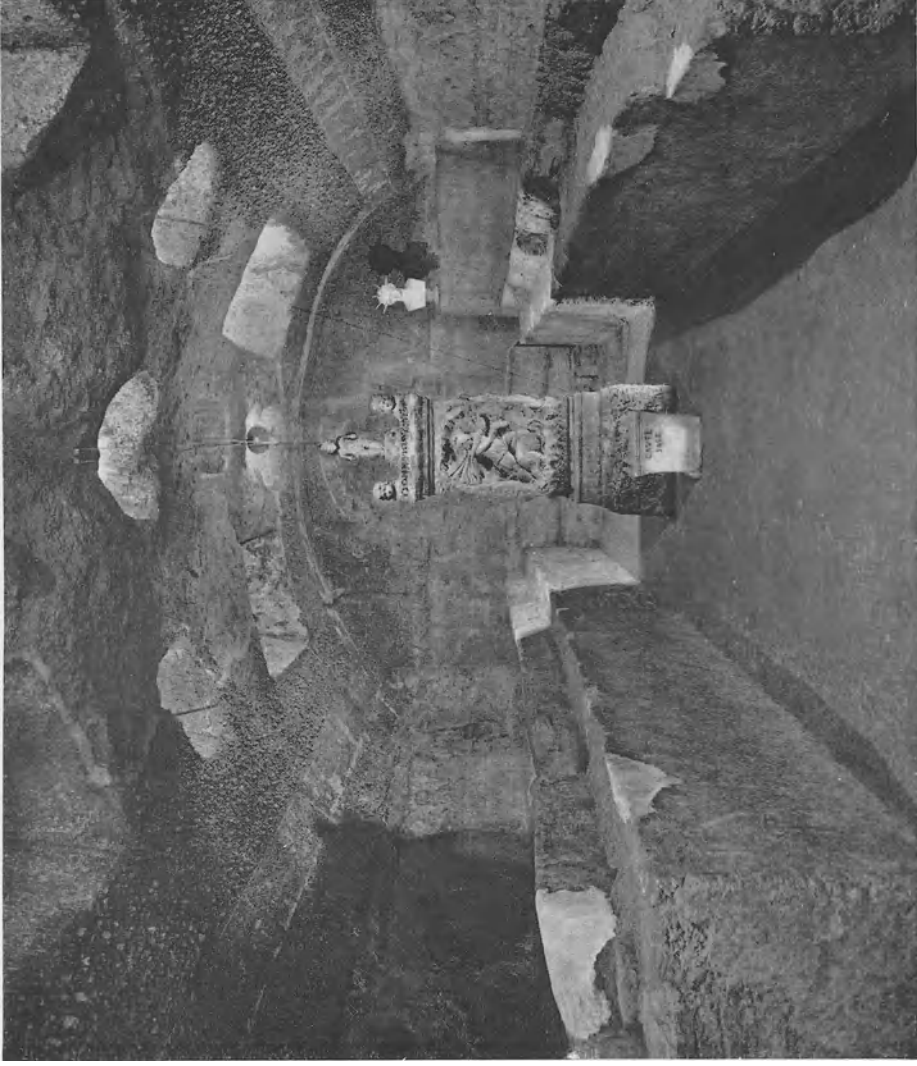


Fig. 95 – Mon. 338

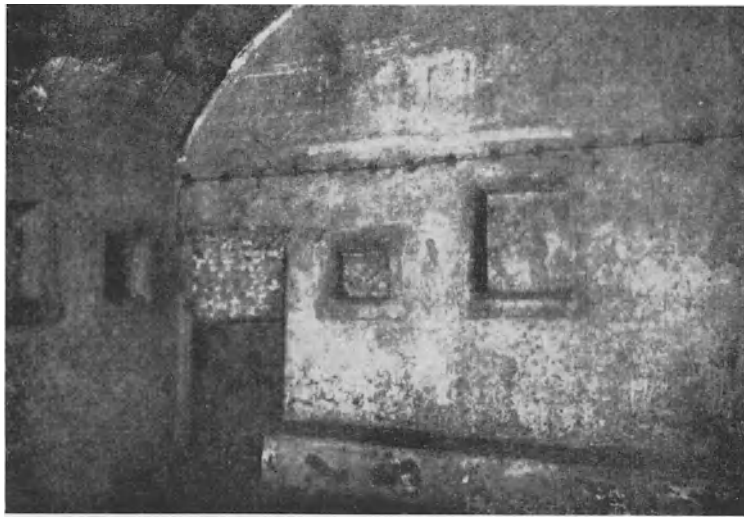


Fig. 96a – Mon. 338



Fig. 96b – Mon. 338





Fig. 99 – Mon. 352



Fig. 100 – Mon. 353



Fig. 101 – Mon. 354



Fig. 102 – Mon. 357



Fig. 103 – Mon. 358



Fig. 104 – Mon. 359



Fig. 105 – Mon. 366



Fig. 106 – Mon. 368



Fig. 107 – Mon. 370



Fig. 108 – Mon. 374



Fig. 109 – Mon. 383



Fig. 110 – No. 385



Fig. 112 - No. 390

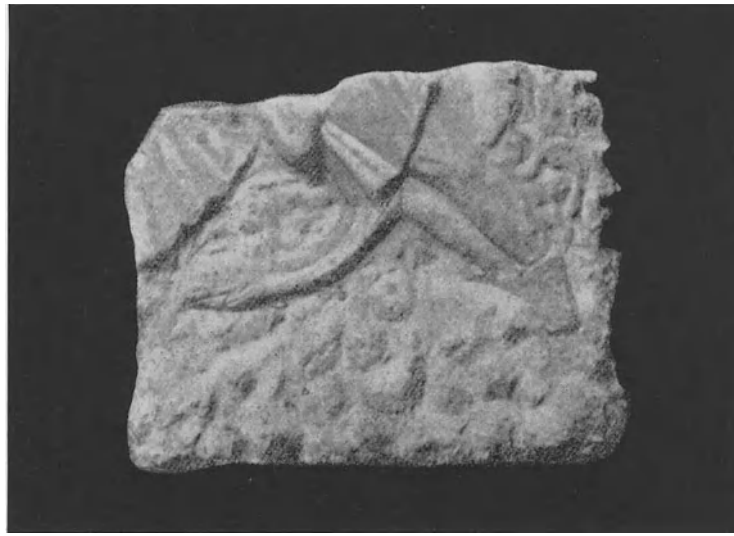


Fig. 113*a* – Mon. 397



Fig. 113*b* – Mon. 397



Fig. 114 – Mon. 415



Fig. 115 – Mon. 417

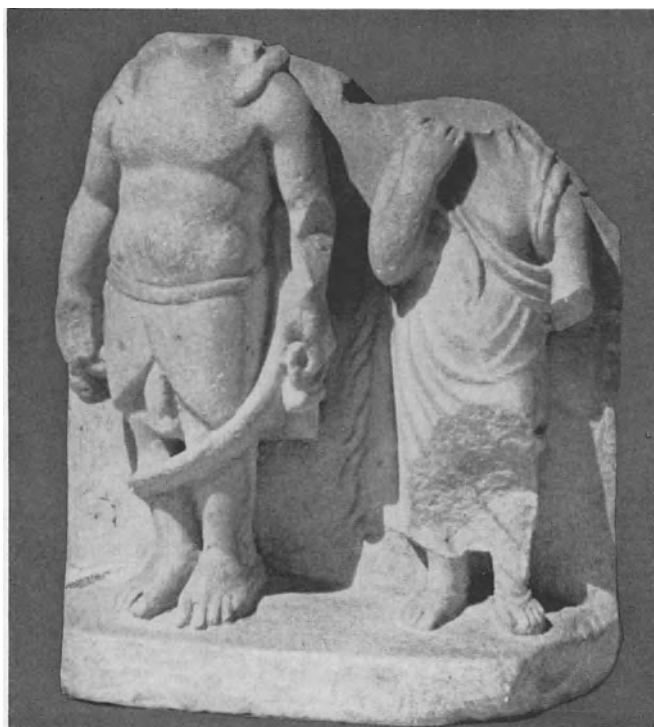


Fig. 116 – Mon. 419



Fig. 117 – Mon. 426



Fig. 118 – Mon. 427



Fig. 119 – Mon. 430



Fig. 121 – Mon. 434



Fig. 122 – Mon. 435



Fig. 123 – Mon. 437



Fig. 125 – Mon. 457

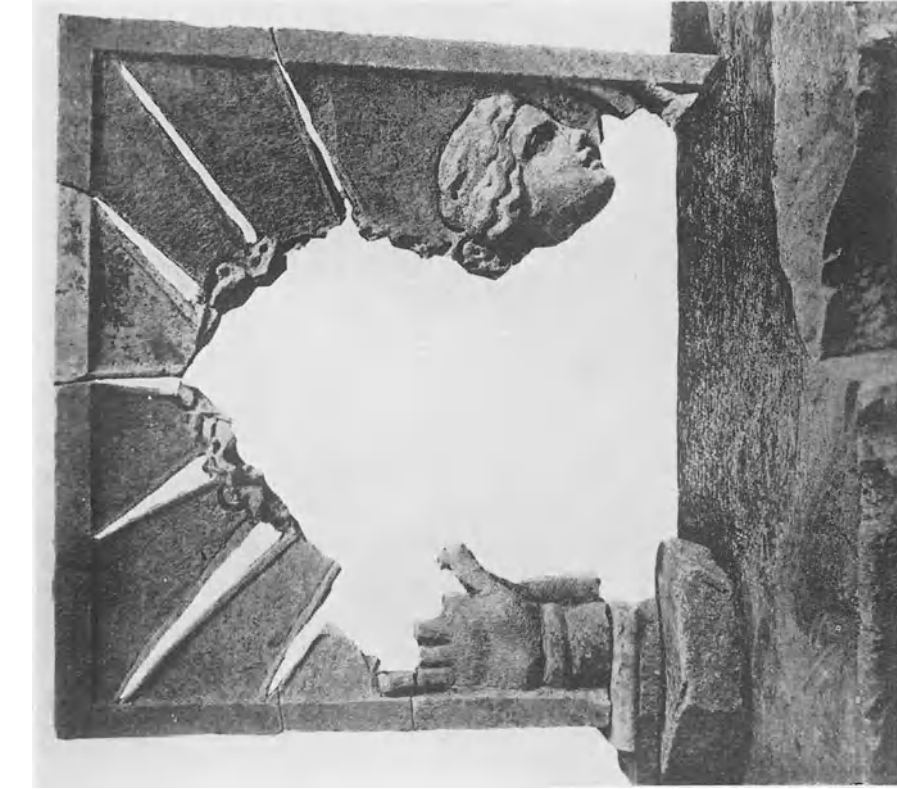


Fig. 126 – Mon. 458



Fig. 127 – Mon. 459



Fig. 130 – Mon. 476



Fig. 131 – Mon. 478



Fig. 135 – Mon. 481, 3



Fig. 136 – Mon. 481, 4



Fig. 137 – Mon. 481, 5



Fig. 138 – Mon. 482, 2 and 3



Fig. 132 – Mon. 479



Fig. 133 – Mon. 479



Fig. 134 - Mon. 481



Fig. 139 – Mon. 482, 8



Fig. 140 – Mon. 483



Fig. 141 – Mon. 483



Fig. 142 – Mon. 491



Fig. 143 – Mon. 496



Fig. 146 – Mon. 505



Fig. 147 – Mon. 506



Fig. 144 – Mon. 503



Fig. 145 – Mon. 504



Fig. 149 – Mon. 531



Fig. 150 – Mon. 534



Fig. 148 – Mon. 507



Fig. 151 – Mon. 541



Fig. 152 – Mon. 543



Fig. 153 – Mon. 545



Fig. 154 – Mon. 546



Fig. 155 – Mon. 548



Fig. 156 – Mon. 550

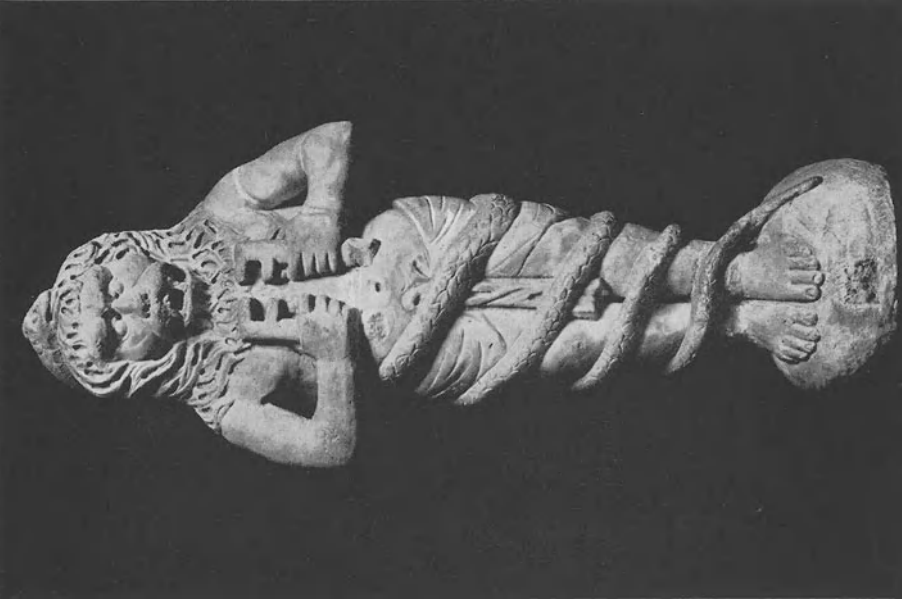


Fig. 157 – Mon. 551



Fig. 158 – Mon. 554



Fig. 159 – Mon. 556



Fig. 160 – Mon. 557



Fig. 161 – Mon. 584



Fig. 162 – Mon. 585



Fig. 163 – Mon. 587

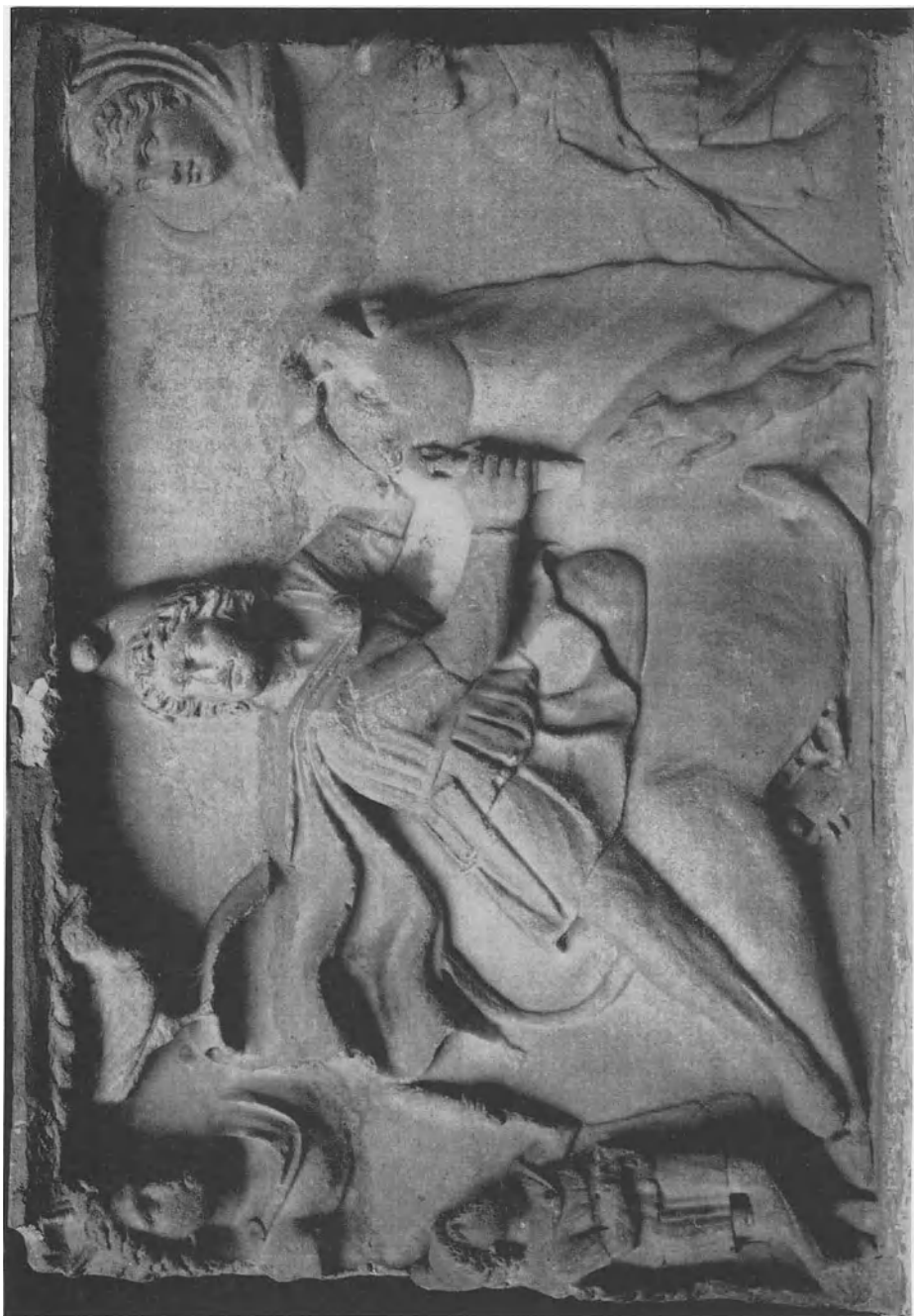


Fig. 164 – Mon. 588



Fig. 165 – Mon. 590



Fig. 166 – Mon. 590

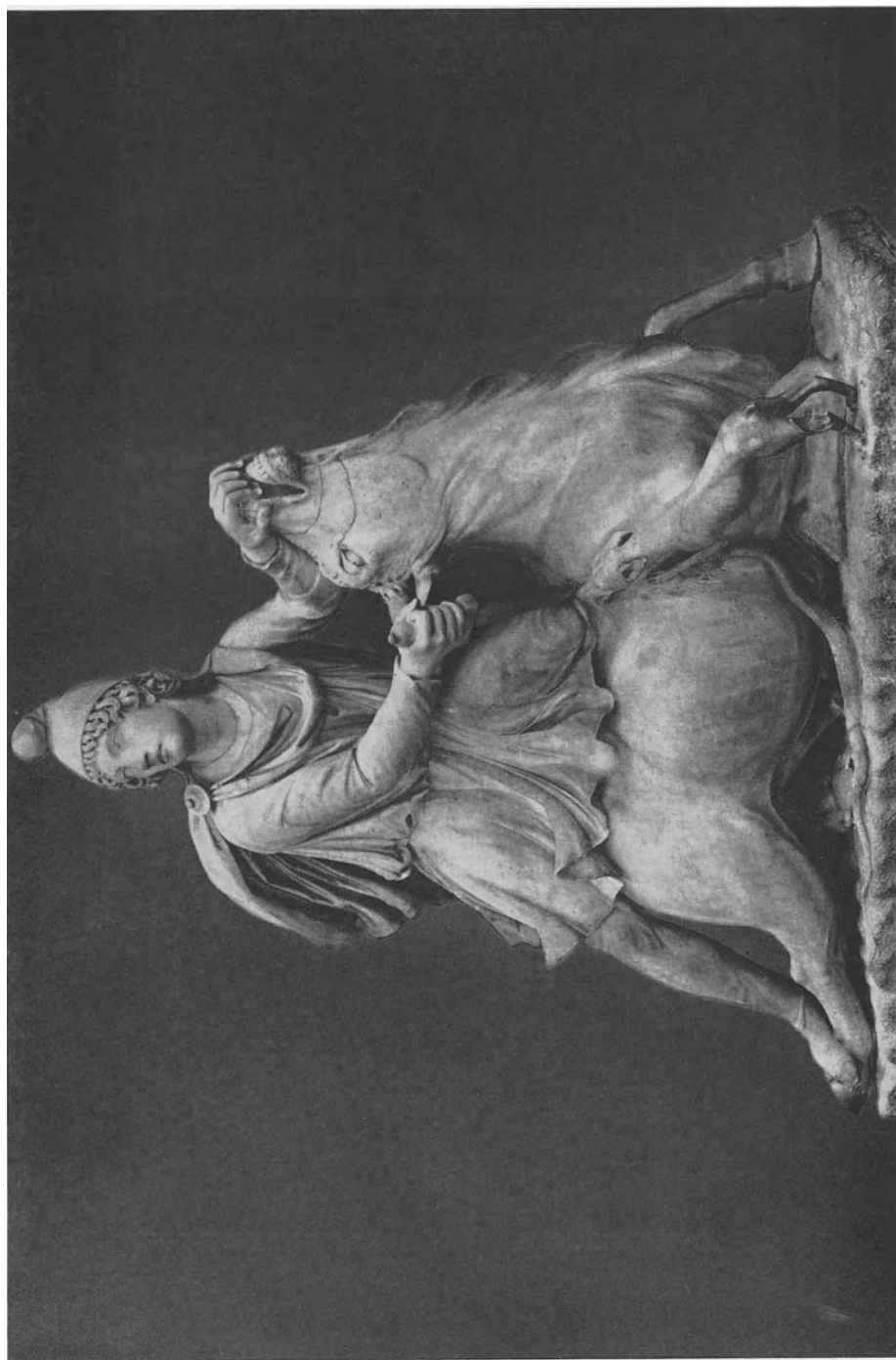


Fig. 167 – Mon. 592



Fig. 168 – Mon. 593



Fig. 170 – Mon. 596



Fig. 169 – Mon. 595



Fig. 171 – Mon. 597



Fig. 172 – Mon. 598



Fig. 173 – Mon. 605



Fig. 174 – Mon. 607



Fig. 175 – Mon. 615

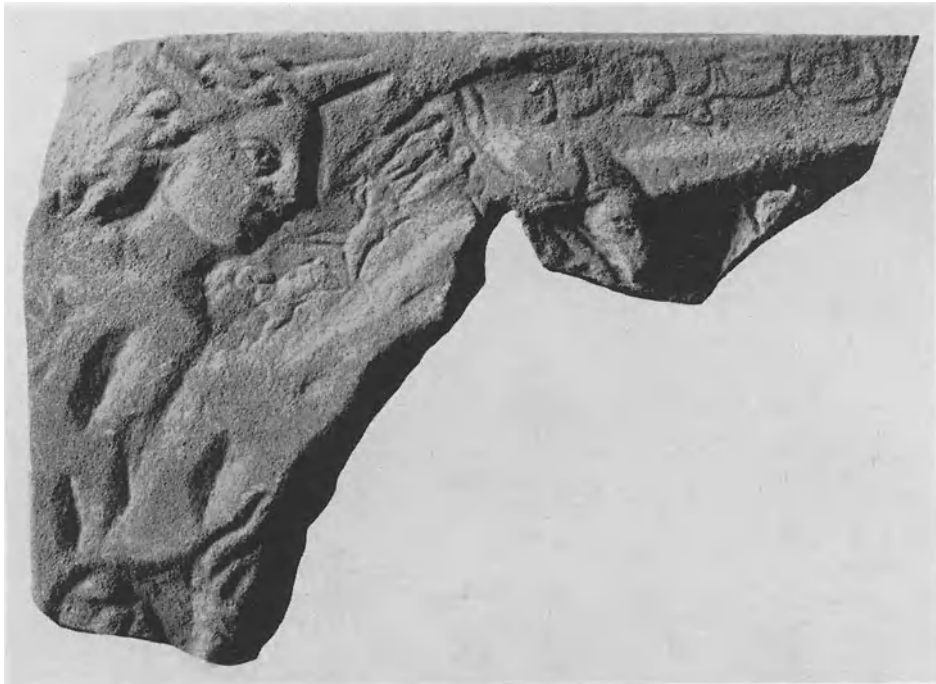


Fig. 176a – Mon. 635

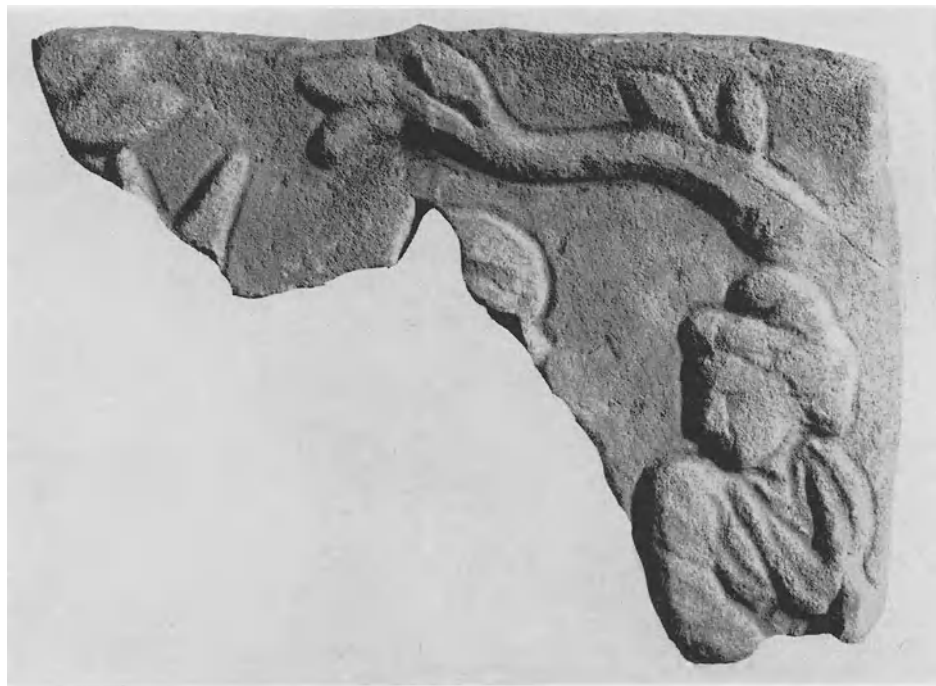


Fig. 176b – Mon. 635



Fig. 177 – Mon. 636



Fig. 178 – Mon. 637



Fig. 179 – Mon. 641



Fig. 180 – Mon. 641



Fig. 181 – Mon. 650



Fig. 182 – Mon. 653



Fig. 183 – Mon. 654



Fig. 184 – Mon. 657



Fig. 185 – Mon. 659

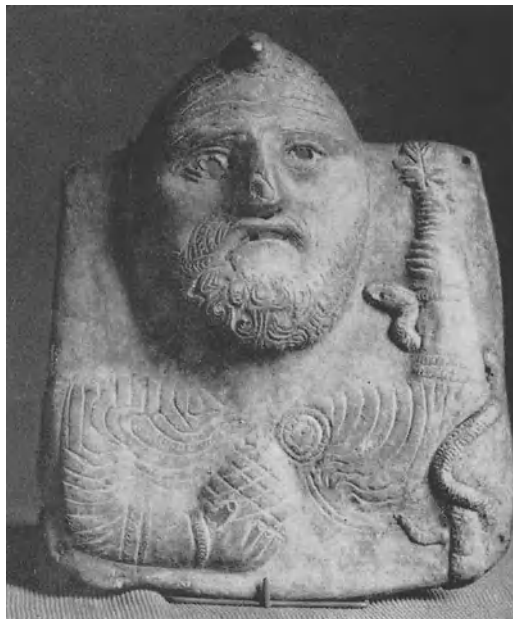


Fig. 186 – Mon. 659



Fig. 187 – Mon. 662



Fig. 188 – Mon. 665



Fig. 189 – Mon. 666

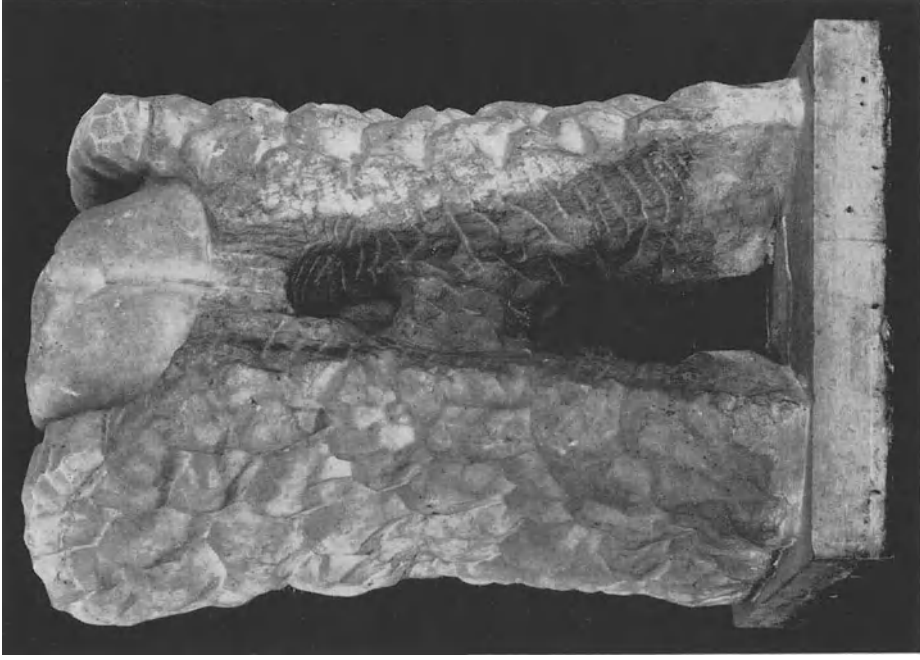


Fig. 190 – Mon. 666



Fig. 191 – Mon. 670



Fig. 193 – Mon. 690



Fig. 194 – Mon. 692



Fig. 195 – Mon. 693



Fig. 196 – Mon. 694



Fig. 197 – Mon. 695



Fig. 198 — Mon. 723



Fig. 199 — Mon. 723

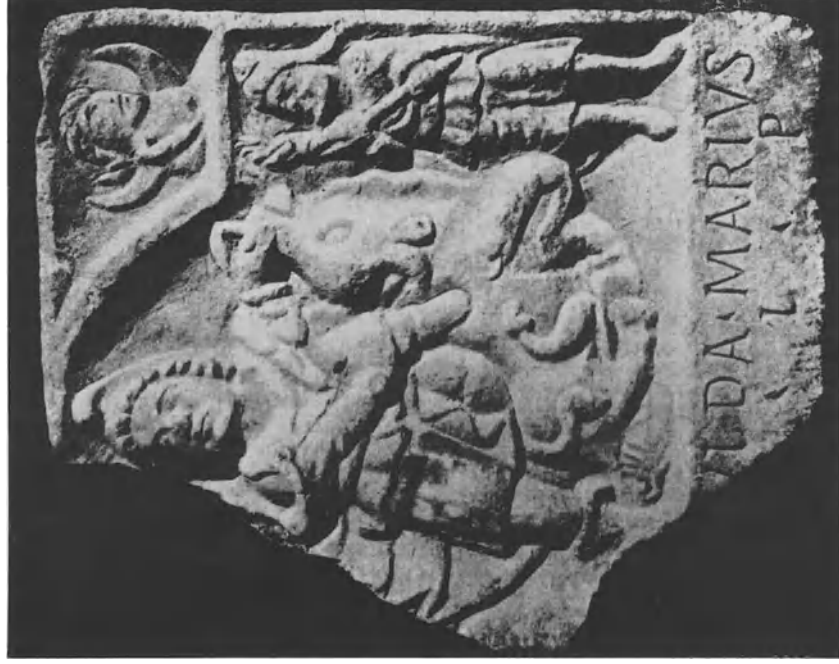


Fig. 200 — Mon. 726



Fig. 201 – Mon. 729

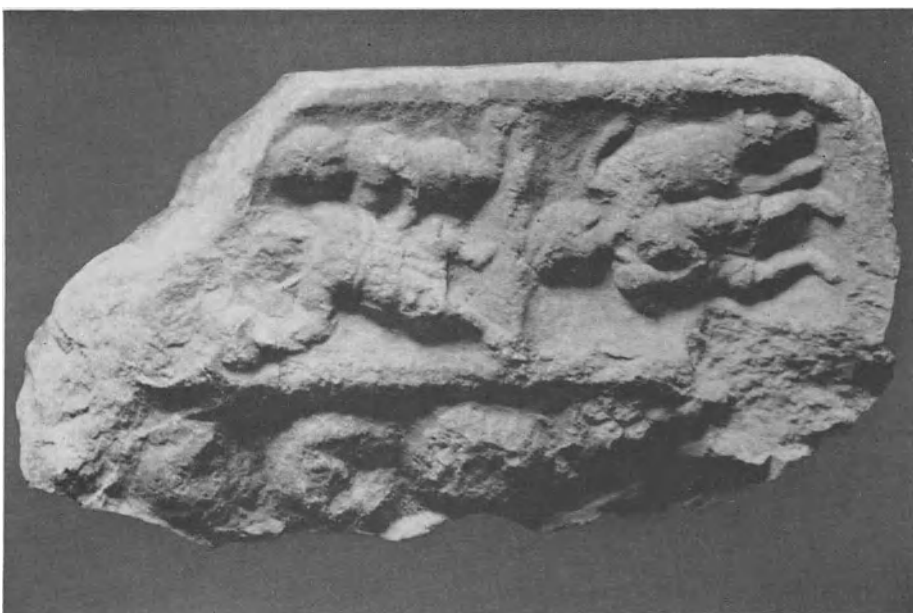


Fig. 202 – Mon. 729



Fig. 203 – Mon. 736



Fig. 204 – Mon. 736



Fig. 205 – Mon. 759

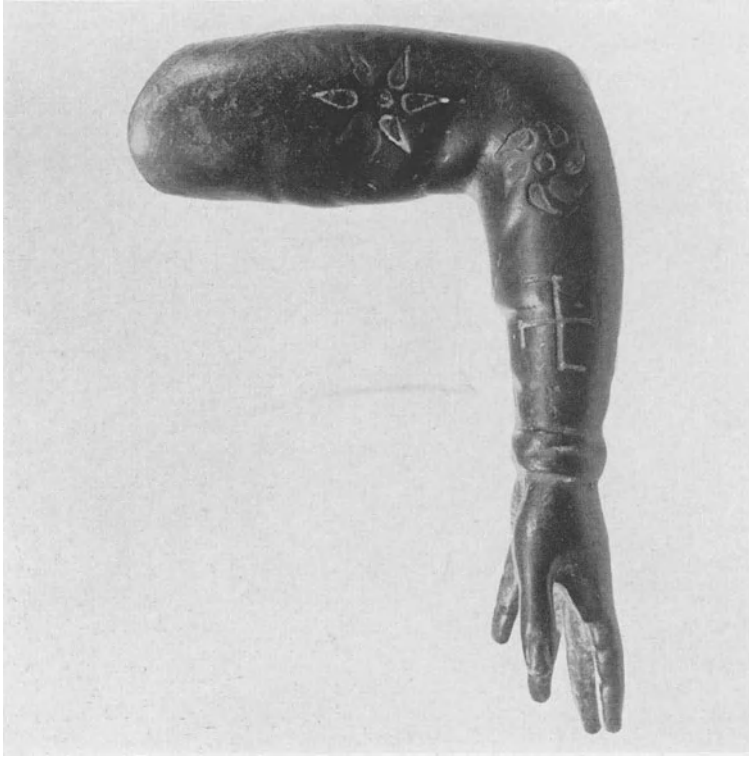


Fig. 206 – Mon. 765



Fig. 207 – Mon. 771

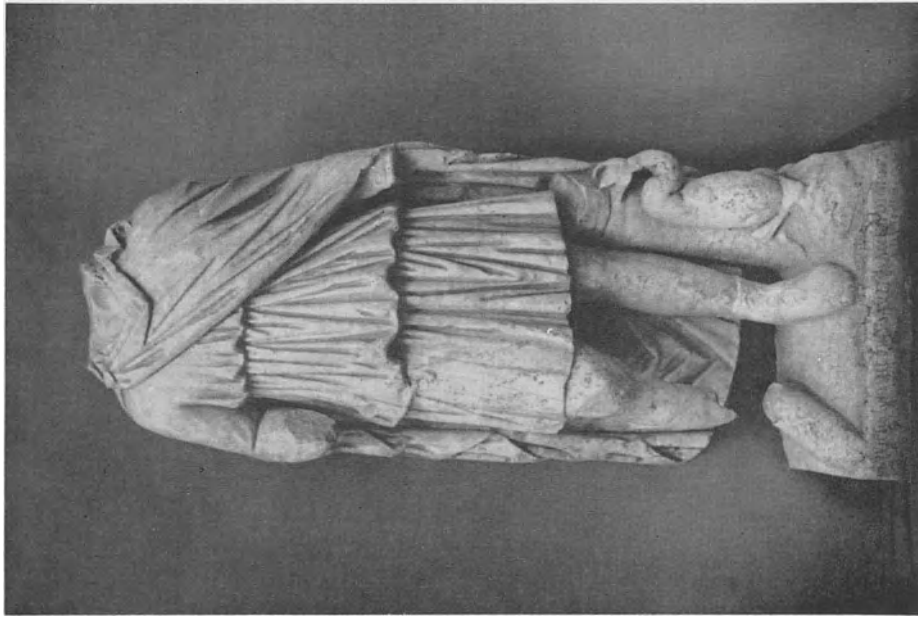


Fig. 208 – Mon. 773



Fig. 209 – Mon. 775



Fig. 210 – Mon. 776

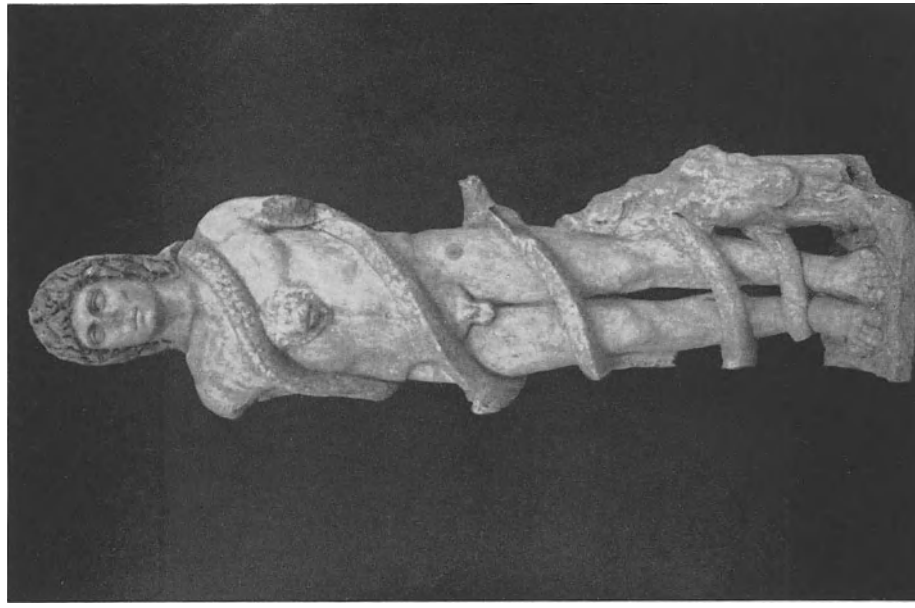


Fig. 211 – Mon. 777



Fig. 212 – Mon. 778



Fig. 213 – Mon. 780

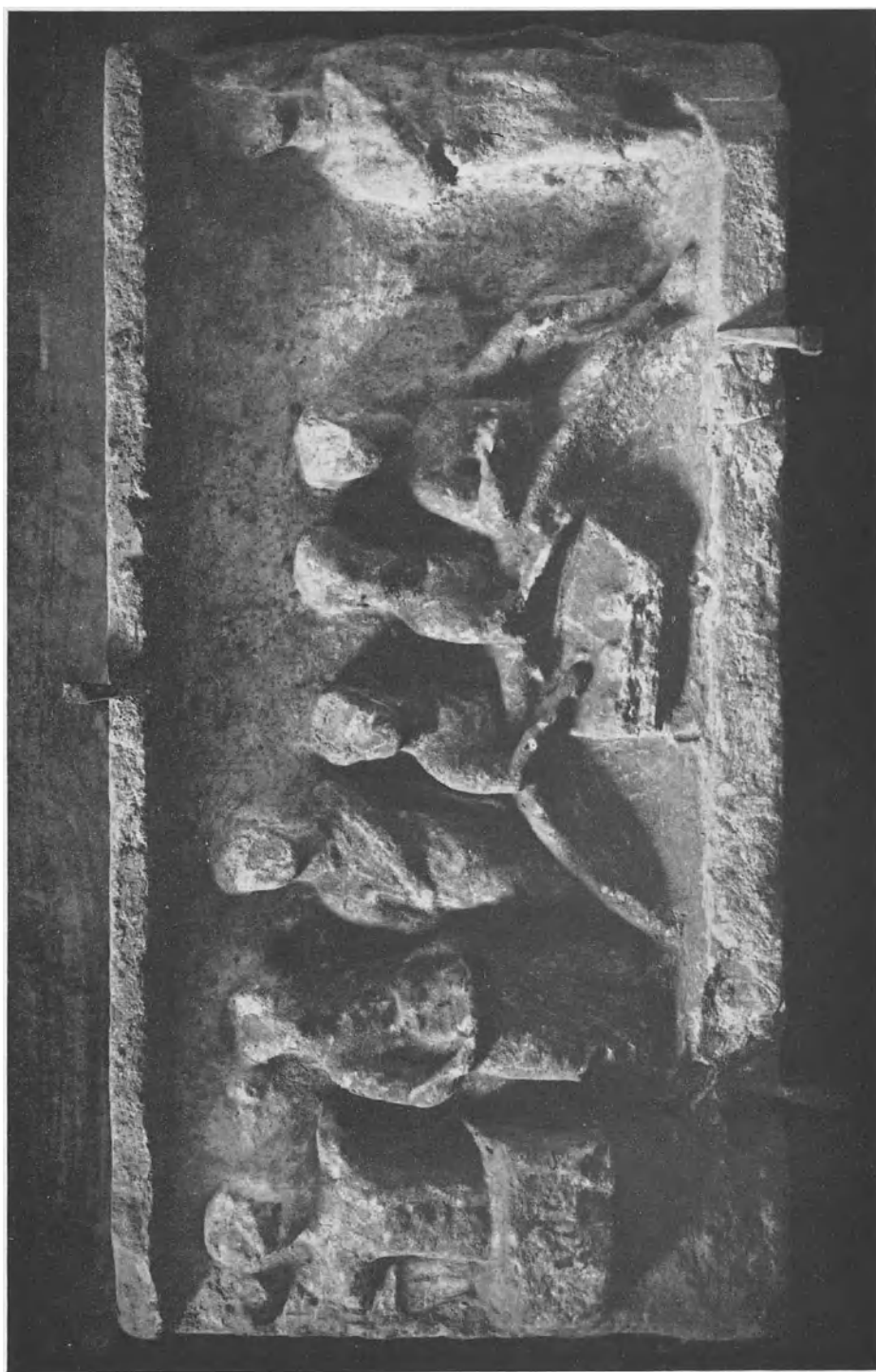


Fig. 214 – Mon. 782



Fig. 215 – Mon. 783

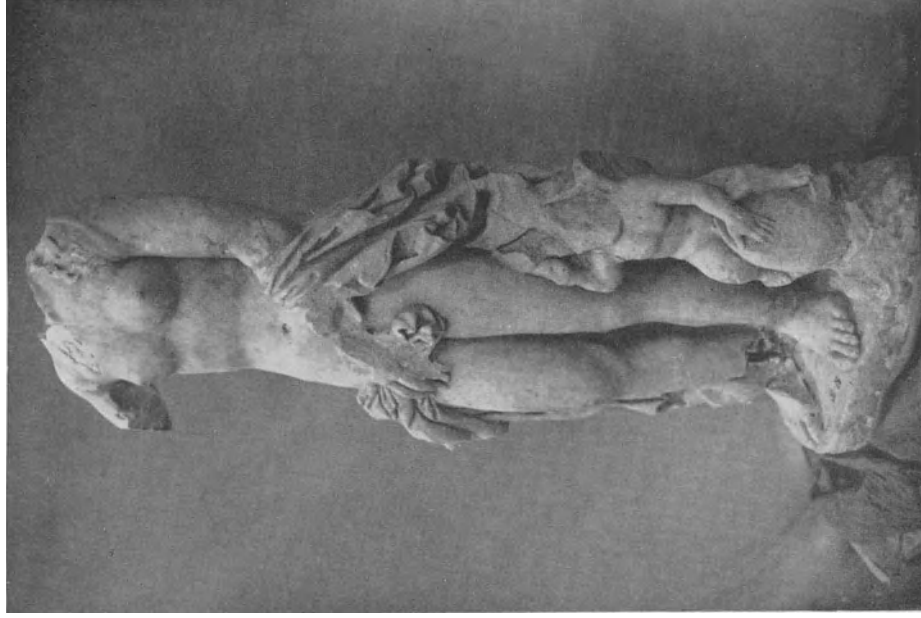


Fig. 216 – Mon. 784



Fig. 217 – Mon. 798



Fig. 218 – Mon. 810



Fig. 219 – Mon. 812

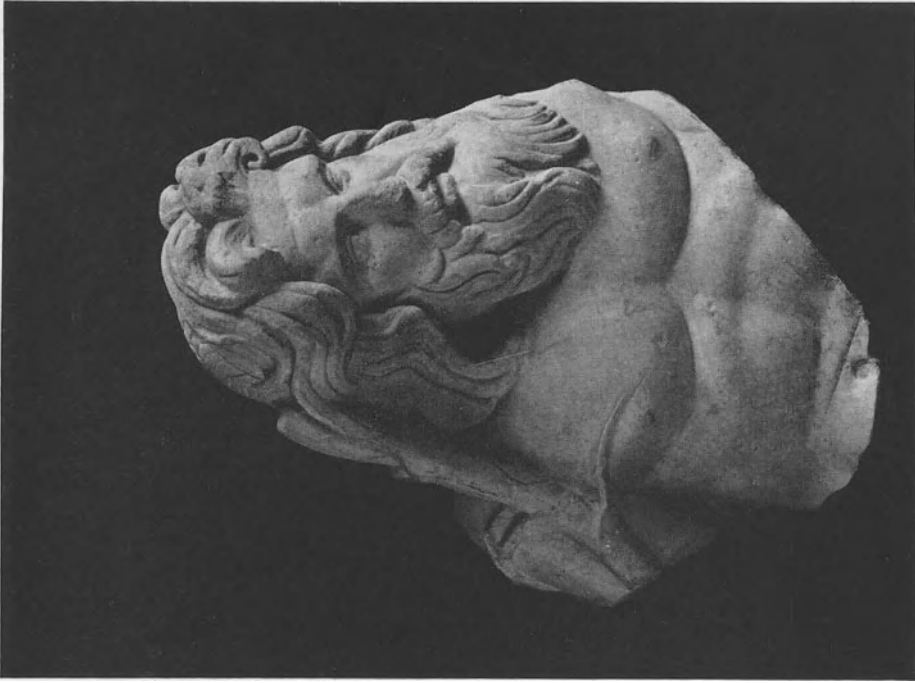


Fig. 220 – Mon. 813



Fig. 221 – Mon. 827



Fig. 225 – Mon. 854

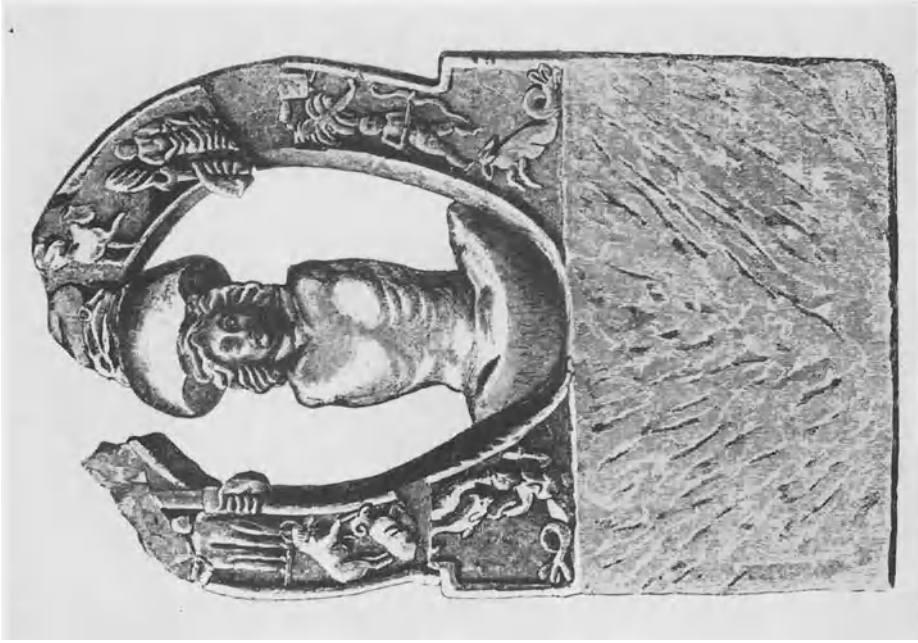


Fig. 226 – Mon. 860

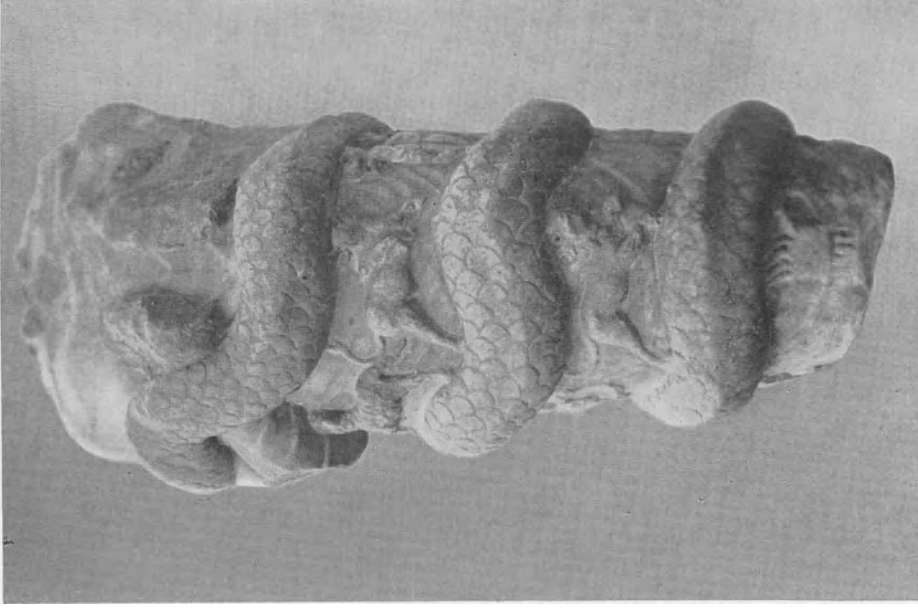


Fig. 227 – Mon. 879

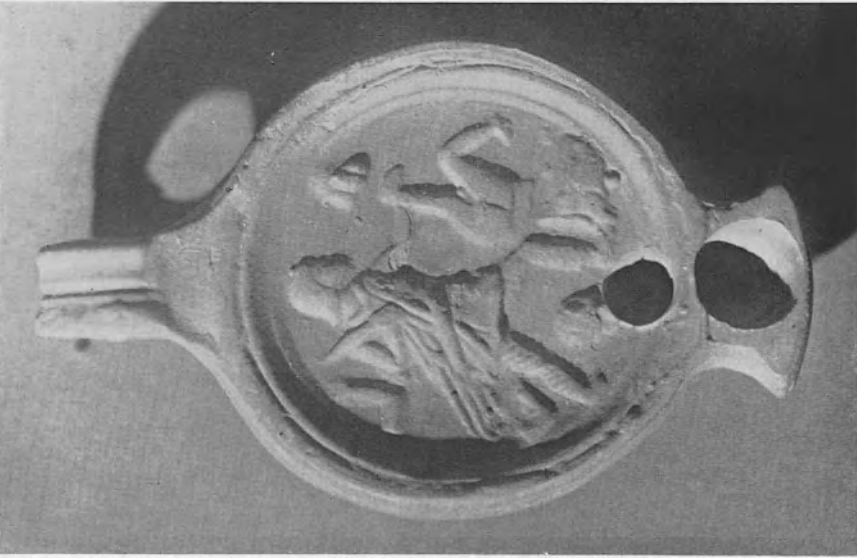


Fig. 228 – Mon. 880

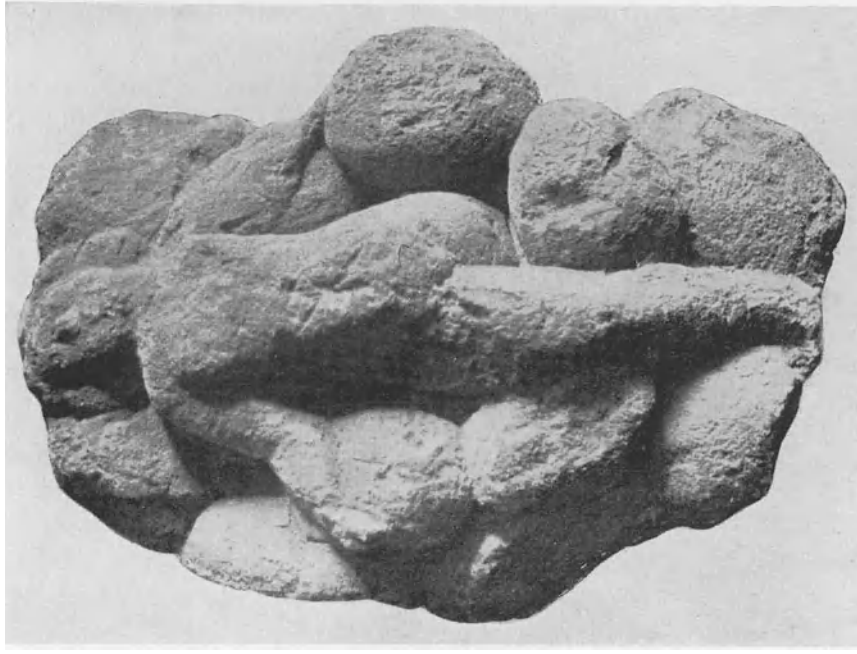


Fig. 229 – Mon. 894



Fig. 230 ~ Mon. 902



Fig. 231 ~ Mon. 918



Fig. 232 – Mon. 921



Fig. 233 – Mon. 942



Fig. 234 – Mon. 943



Fig. 235a – Mon. 951



Fig. 235b – Mon. 951



Fig. 236 – Mon. 966



Fig. 237 – Mon. 985



Fig. 238 – Mon. 988